

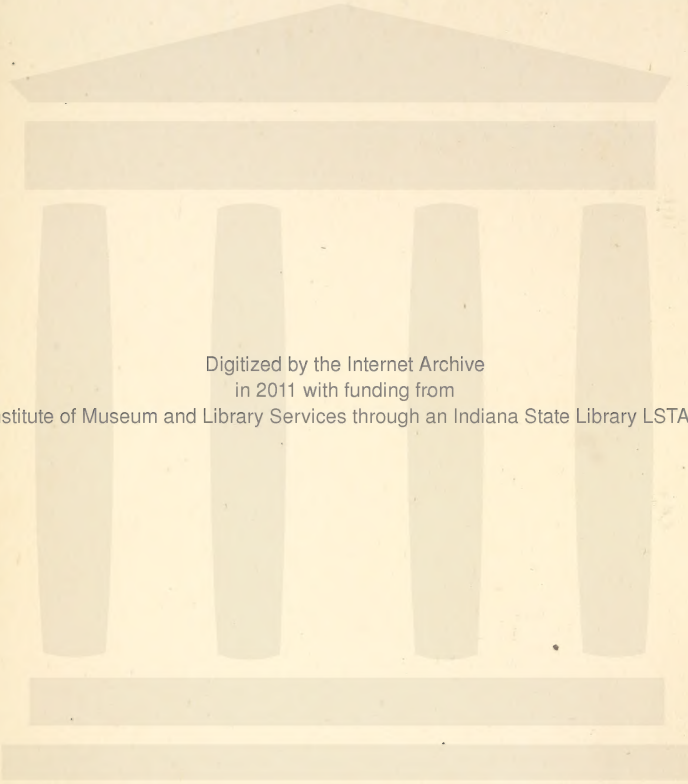


1844

To my friend, Daniel Fish, whose  
face I have not seen but whose  
friendship I highly value.

Isaac N. Phillips

Mar 31, 1910.



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# THE AMERICAN TEN YEARS' WAR

1855-1865

BY  
DENTON J. SNIDER

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## PART FIRST.—THE BORDER WAR.

### CHAPTER I. THE OPENING CONFLICT (1855-6).

#### **The First Invasion.**

During the last days of March, 1855, a small army, some 5,000 men as the account runs, marched from the State of Missouri over its western boundary into the neighboring Territory of Kansas. There was no open proclamation of war, and the country generally supposed itself to be in possession of peace at home and abroad. Still here was a military organization in semblance, belonging to no State legally nor to the United States, commanded by Generals and Colonels and Captains, and accompanied by a train of wagons containing supplies of food and liquor and ammunition. The men were armed with guns and pistols; many of them showed their distinctive weapon in a unique way: bowie-knives



protruding from the tops of their boots. They had been recruited chiefly from the western counties of Missouri, which also contributed the main expenses of the expedition, deeming themselves the vanguard of Southern civilization in the great conflict manifestly approaching and ready to break out on their border. Mighty was the enthusiasm, overflowing into multitudinous streams of oratory from the leaders, who were mostly politicians in line of promotion, and who had the power of evoking in their hearers volley after volley of profanity discharged against the Abolitionists over in Kansas and in the North.

War in peace, then, we behold on the Kansas-Missouri border during these fair spring days; what does it portend? Such a mass of men could not have been gathered, drilled and organized without money and much previous effort. It is now known that they were members of a secret oath-bound society called the Blue Lodge mainly, though other names of it were current. A fixed, persistent purpose lies back of it, an idea, we must believe; it bodes some struggle impending, whereof this is the first little, distant outbreak, the harbinger of mightier events coming on. So these Missourians march across the border, totally unconscious of the colossal, world-historical drama whose first scene they are enacting.

No doubt could be entertained concerning

their immediate object, for it was openly proclaimed by all; they intended to vote in Kansas, though non-residents, and to elect a Territorial Legislature, which would transform it into a Slave-State. Their scheme was to seize hold of the law-making power by violence, and then render their illegal acts legal. A curious mental condition was this of the Missourians, yet their leaders upheld it by argument as well as by fervid appeals to conscience and to eternal justice, invoking even the God of battles. March 30th the election took place. In a voting population of about 3,000, according to a census taken a few weeks before the election, 6,300 votes were cast, nearly four-fifths of them by Missourians who took possession of most of the polling-places, ousted any recalcitrant judges, and proceeded to accept their own ballots for their own candidates. The result was a complete triumph of Missourians choosing themselves for Kansas legislators, who were 39 in number. The Governor, Reeder, had to canvass the returns, and, though an appointee of the Democratic Administration, did not relish the Missouri method of undoing the ballot through the ballot. Still he gave certificates of election to all but seven, looking into the muzzles of cocked pistols, it is said, which had also a significant power of speech, saying to him: We shall spit fire if you go behind the returns. In the seven districts where

ballots were thrown out on account of informalities too brazen, a new election took place which resulted in the choice of seven Kansas legislators for Kansas, who, however, were soon unseated by the Missouri members, as usurpers of the sacred rights of Missourians.

Contemplating these events we have to ask ourselves: Is here a mere local trouble, a border foray of outlaws, or is this spirit getting to be general in the South? Is the ballot, the great Anglo-Saxon instrumentality for obviating violence, to be set aside by violence? Is the majority no longer to rule in this country? If so, war must come, since the means of all peaceful settlement between contending parties is broken into fragments and scattered to the winds. Ominous of 1861 is already 1855 in Kansas.

The Missourians declared undisguisedly that their purpose was to make Kansas a Slave-State without any regard for the wishes of her people. To that end they had now seized the legislative power of the Territory, which rightfully belonged to its actual settlers. Already the Missourians supposed that they had both the executive and the judicial branches of the Territorial organization. The Governor and other administrative officials were appointed by the President, Franklin Pierce, who was dominated by the slave power of which the head was already Jefferson Davis,

Secretary of War at Washington. The Judiciary of the Territory likewise was a Presidential appointment, and would not fail to co-operate with the Missourians, as time showed. The scheme of the invaders, accordingly, was to get control of the Legislature, preventing the inhabitants from governing themselves, since they were manifesting a decided tendency toward wheeling Kansas into the company of the Free-States, from which most of them had come. Unfortunately Governor Reeder had legalized in form the illegal act of the invaders, through his certificates of election. Thus illegality was made legal and was enthroned not only as law, but as the law-making power of Kansas. Reeder will repent of his action, and will valiantly battle against the consequences of his own mistake, showing his deepest worth by making undone his own ill-doing, as far as lies in his power.

Such is the fierce contradiction in the institutional order of Kansas, rending to pieces her ethical life and making her truly a perverted world. The established authority is used to dis-establish the foundation of authority, the consent of the governed; the three powers of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, are in the hands of those who intend to employ them for undermining their source, the will of the people. The forms of free institutions are turned into destroyers of freedom, and the law



is driven to the point of stabbing itself and letting its own heart's blood. In such a perverted institutional world man cannot live in peace. How can he be even legal when illegality makes the law? Still he must remain law-abiding till he can somehow re-make the law by which he abides.

Over all these occurrences gleams the question: Was the act of the Missourians representative? Did it reach beyond their State even to the Atlantic? Did it reveal the spirit and the rising purpose of the South? Many and loud were the exultations in the newspapers from Westport in Missouri to Charleston in South Carolina; the event was hailed as the certain triumph of Slavery. On the whole the Southerners made this deed of their borderland their own, approving it and setting it up for imitation. Still there were protests, some of them pronounced but most of them suppressed. The extremists were in the saddle and were bent on riding at the top of their speed. The conservatives were carried along in the fateful sweep of the time, even when they saw the stream plunging toward a Niagara cataract.

We have called these invaders Missourians, since they were chiefly recruited from Northwestern Missouri, whose wind-lands, containing the finest soil in the United States according to a competent observer, were occupied at an early



day by slaveholders, who became slavery's strongest partisans. But Missouri is a large State, and as a whole hardly approved of these border invasions instigated from the Platte Purchase. This inference may be reasonably drawn from Missouri's vote for Douglas and his Popular Sovereignty in 1860, after his breach with the South just on this Kansas question. Moreover Missouri had during these years (1856-60) an active minority in favor of making it a Free State.

The question of questions, then, looming up over the Border is, Shall this new Territory be tilled with the labor of slaves or of freemen? The conflict has opened on the dividing line between the settled and the unsettled lands of the national domain, on the boundary between States already in the Union and those which are hereafter to come into the Union. We may well regard it as the visible demarcation of the present from the future; indeed we shall soon see it transformed into a battle-line between the old and the new order, between the outgoing and the incoming civilization. The struggle will reach far beyond the confines of Kansas, will involve the whole United States, and will have an abiding influence upon the destiny of both Americas and of the entire world. So it must be said that in this remote border-land is enacted a scene in the grand drama of Universal History,

and that Kansas for a brief period rises to the point of making herself world-historical.

Such a mighty birth lies ensconced in this seemingly insignificant border foray of a lawless horde — an event which otherwise would not be worthy of the record. But the years will speedily show it to have a meaning more than local or even national, and so the historic Muse, sitting at the inner shrine of Time's occurrences and watching their hidden movement, will dip her pen afresh for their deeper and more pregnant portrayal. Before the tribunal of all History, then, have appeared the two contestants with their pressing question: Shall this Kansas be a Slave-State or a Free-State? And underneath yet along with it lurks another profounder interrogation: Shall this Federal Union hereafter bring forth Slave-States or Free-States? And still more deeply may we catch a gleam of the oracle flashing fitfully upon the night of the future an affirmative response to the question whether or not the Free-State is to be universal.

But limiting our vision to a smaller and more definite round of events, we can say that the American Civil War has now started, and it is not going to stop till the right and complete thing be done. On the Missouri-Kansas border during the vernal tide of March-April, 1855, with the coming of the invaders the whirlwind rose, or, in

Kansas phrase, “the blizzard broke loose,” strangely refusing to blow itself out into nothingness and be pacified till a great historic cycle had evolved itself into completeness. For its conclusion we must look through ten years and note what is taking place during these same spring days in 1865. Sheridan is at Five Forks, Richmond falls, the Southern Confederacy collapses, and on April the 9th is Lee’s surrender at Appomattox. The border blizzard has swollen up to an all-embracing national cyclone of war; starting from its little spot in the distant West, it has swept through Missouri and down the Mississippi Valley, overwhelming all the new Slave-States and then all the old Slave-States, really the origin of the whole trouble, and burning up slavery root and branch along its furious path. Such is the end lurking in and unfolding out of this tiny starting-point, and interlinking with it in a kind of circular chain of events, which form one of the most important processes of the World’s History. Let the reader note here at the beginning, its inner propulsion to get around to its primal source in the Eastern States, its cyclical tendency to come back to its origin and to transform that.

A new Ten Years’ War we witness on our Western Continent, not altogether unlike the far-famed Trojan one ending in the destruction of Ilium and the restoration of Helen. Again

every community will muster its contingent of soldiers and send them forth to the war under its leading man or hero, to fight for the great cause, which meant in the olden time that Hellas and not Troy was to determine the civilization of the future. But now a restoration is to take place far deeper than the Grecian or that of Helen; the mighty struggle is now not for the ideal of beauty but for the ideal of freedom, though its bearer be not the most beautiful woman of the world but the homeliest mortal of God's creation, the black African, most un-Grecian as to nose and feature and foot and form. No Iliad singing rhythmic harmonies and moving with Olympian lines into plastic shapes of Heroes and Gods, can ever be born of such an ideal. No hexametral roll attuned to the sweep of sea and mountain and echoing the subtle concordance of nature and soul in the thousandfold play of its cadences can be evoked out of the prairie-speech uttered by the chief actors in this conflict. And yet an Iliad we may call the action, deepened and widened by the stream of the World's History down the Ages, with its tale of terrible but purifying experiences sent upon the Nation by the Divine Order. As the Greek during his whole national existence never could get rid of the eternal pother over Helen, but had to re-enact her and hers in his art, in his poetry, even in his

history and religion, with the ever-recurring conflict between Greece and Asia from Troy till Rome, so the American seemingly cannot bring to an end the eternal pother over the negro after hundreds of trials, but has to spend his thought, his treasure and his blood, till this humblest and by nature most servile of the races of men be transformed and regenerated into a free being, capable of free institutions. Such a task, not willingly laid upon us by ourselves but by the Spirit of total Man, persists in lowering over us, not always to our comfort. Of this task our Ten Years' War is but a stage already past, and henceforth to be looked back at and ruminated upon with profit, and, it is to be hoped, with interest. For History is not merely a line of successive and fortuitous occurrences in Time, but the Soul of all Time, yea, the Soul which makes Time, uttering itself in the events of the past, voicing itself in the deeds and thoughts of men. To hear this voice and to commune with its meaning, may be regarded as the ultimate purpose of historic study.

## I.

Such was the First Invasion of Kansas by the Missourians, the beginning of woes unnumbered to both the participants, and not only to them, but to all their countrymen connected by ties of sympathy and kinship ramifying through the



whole Nation, North and South. We call it the first, though there was an earlier foray in the preceding year (November, 1854) when a band of Missourians crossed the border and voted for the Congressional delegate, Whitfield, who, however, was not opposed by the people of the Territory. Thus it was a peaceful affair though a wrong with a nemesis lurking in it, even if for the present smothered. But now in 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas want their own Legislature, which is their right, and get ready to resist, whereat Bellona unties her bag of ills, not to be tied up again for ten weary, desperate years.

The Invasion was an attempt to steal a right, the majority's right of determining their institutions, the right of all others fundamental and peculiar to America's government, making her truly self-governed, and constituting the very symbol of her spirit, of her self-hood. Such was the portentous theft committed in Kansas on that spring-day, really our American Rape of Helen, done by those Missouri borderers who tried to carry off by violence beautiful Freedom in the shape of the ballot, far more beautiful to Americans than beautiful Helen of old Greece, and we believe more virtuous in spite of many insidious attempts at her prostitution. And yet the fact must be recorded that these assailants of Free-

dom's honor were Americans, speaking English, peculiarly the language of Freedom, just as those old Trojans, the captors and detainers of beautiful Helen, were of Hellenic blood, and spoke Greek, peculiarly the language of Beauty. So the old and the new, the first and the last, the Alpha and the Omega of our Occidental History come together and interlink, rounding themselves out into that oft-noted cycle of events which therein are to be seen not merely moving forward to the end, but also going backward to the beginning. Only thus can we behold the present orbiting itself with its own creative past and completing a great historic process, which, while it runs with Time on the one side, runs against Time on the other, returning to its starting-point and therein revealing that periodicity, which from hoary Egypt till now has been felt to be a manifestation of the omnipotent hand controlling the World's occurrences.

In a sense it may be said that the ideal of Freedom has hovered before man since the beginning of History, and that it is, accordingly, nothing new. Still it has been developing all the while and is ever taking new and more adequate forms. This last or American form of the long conflict between Freedom and Slavery puts its main stress upon the political institution, and regards the State as genetic or creative, that is, as productive of other States. Now this ge-

netic State or Federal Union, through its constitution was made to be productive of two kinds of States, free and slave. This dualism is what is threatening to break asunder the Federal Union when the Ten Years' War opens, whose conflict may, therefore, be said to lie between Free-Stateism and Slave-Stateism. And the future problem, which the popular mind (our American Folk-Soul) is in deep self-communion turning over within itself, may be summed up in the question: Shall henceforth our State-creating Union be the parent of free States or of slave States, or still of both? This we might call the theme or argument of our American Iliad, in which as in the old Greek one, through countless ills of both sides the Will of Zeus was accomplished.

It is evident that the problem turns upon Labor, and the two kinds of States ground themselves upon the two kinds of Labor, that of the freeman and that of the bondman. The Free-State is really the Free-Labor State, and the Slave-State is the Slave-Labor State, though in the latter actual slavery was confined to the black race. Or, to reach down to the depths of the human soul, to the psychical being of man, we must conceive that all Labor is an act of Will, whose freedom it is just the function of the State to secure through its laws. But now we have a State which is to secure a Will enslaved, con-

tradicting therein its own essence. And the American Union is to continue bringing forth such States — or is not — which shall it be? Such a question the American Folk-Soul has propounded to itself, sounding its deepest abysses for an answer. But what oracle dwells there within to deliver such a response? Truly that Delphic voice which once spoke at rocky Pytho the words of the God is no longer audible on the outside, but has taken up its modern abode in the Folk-Soul, which receives the divine impress directly and acts from within, according to conviction. Such is the new Zeus, not quite the Homeric one, yet descended from him and inter-related with him through the successive ages.

The American Folk-Soul is, then, going to school and is working at its problem which it sees but cannot yet solve. Kansas is about to give the first lesson, the preliminary course lasting some three years or more; such was the discipline for the great coming task. But who prescribes this task? Again we have to go behind the curtain of the thronging, tumultuous, distracting events of Time, and glimpse the Spirit busied there; call it Civilization, Progress, World-Spirit, or even Zeus, if you like Homer's poetic way of imagining the divine order which controls History. For the old Greek bard also has his two worlds; the lower one of mortals

around and in Troy, full of war, confusion, and caprice; then the upper Olympian one, the serene abode of the Gods, above whom sits Zeus Supreme, voicing when at his best not only the soul of that little speck of Trojan Time, but of all Time.

In some such way we would fain impress our reader with the thought that this Kansas conflict is not a mere bubble on the stream of the World's History, rising and bursting in the passing moment, but is that stream itself, the whole of it, for the present, till it flows elsewhere on its ceaseless sweep to its goal.

## II.

Having thus mustered the one side of the Kansas conflict, and caused it to pass in review, we must plainly do the same service for the other side. The assailants with their principle have been witnessed in their march across the border; but who are the assailed, and whence and for what purpose have they come hither to the untamed prairie and wilderness? Some account of these hardy spirits is next due.

After the passage of the Kansas Nebraska bill, the President of the United States had declared the territory of Kansas open for settlement on May 30th, 1854. At once emigrants began to pour in from all parts of the country, for the purpose of occupying the land. By far the



largest portion came from the Northern States of the West, which always had its pioneers whose nature was to tire of the more thickly settled districts and to go forth again to the frontier, as they and their ancestors had done for generations. As we have seen in more recent times the large crowds ready to rush across the border of Oklahoma, when this territory was thrown open for settlement, so we may conceive the numbers ready to cross into Kansas in the spring and summer of 1854.

These early emigrants were largely though not wholly from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. Nearly all of them came singly, or in small neighborhood groups. It was in no sense an organized movement. Each man expected to enter his tract of land and start to work on his own account and in his own way, clearing the soil and putting in his crop; then later he intended to send for family and friends. It was an individual emigration, this of the West to Kansas. These men were the first on the ground, and rapidly grew in number. Tumbling over one another they come like a flock of blackbirds, the rearmost flying above the heads of the rest and lighting down foremost, till these find themselves again in the rear, when once more they rise in flight for the front. Such were the human waves which came rolling out of the Western States over the Kansas border when

the barrier was removed. We may deem it another manifestation of that old Aryan instinct which has driven westward now for thousands of years, propelling its migrating peoples out of Asia, through Europe, across the Atlantic to America, in a succession of Oceanic undulations which have swept over the Alleghenies, and leaping the Mississippi, have reached the boundary of Kansas, whose plains are now to be the scene of their last great overflow.

They found the land already surveyed by the Government and divided into sections and quarter sections, each of which might become a farm with its industrious tenant, the like of whom had already filled the North-West with a thrifty, self-reliant population, all of them makers of their own institutions and ready to fight for these, if the call came. This is the class of men that began to settle down over Eastern Kansas, clustering at first along its navigable streams. Each little farm became a cell in an ever-increasing honeycomb, and contained a busy bee seeking to gather the honey of industry, but prepared to fly out and sting his foe if disturbed in his work or his freedom. Then these bees made a hive and many hives, which would swarm forth together against their troubler with wonderful celerity and undaunted courage. In 1854 already this mass of farms began to array themselves against the Missouri border in

serried ranks one behind the other, not without many a contest over titles to the land which the Missourians claimed to have pre-empted. But the agricultural fortification of the country went on till it was inexpugnable, since each of these small homes held one worker and fighter at least, and sometimes several. Such was the wall of living valor with its free labor which was built or rather built itself as a bulwark against the slave-bringing invaders.

This is, then, the first, the unorganized, individual migration. But there is another which is organized, having a different source, New England, and a different character. The leader appears who establishes his Emigrant Aid Society for the purpose of colonizing Kansas. The name of this leader rises into great prominence, so that the whole country, North and South, knows of Eli Thayer. His first band, 29 strong, left Boston July 17th, 1854, with a most lavish expenditure of noise. A great multitude gathered at the railroad station to witness their departure, which fact indicates that the fight was already expected in Kansas. The cheering crowds lined the tracks for several blocks. The country through which the train passed was everywhere roused, and ovations were tendered at several cities to these soldiers going to the war. A fortnight after leaving Boston they were in Kansas, and August 1st is given as the date of

their founding of Lawrence, destined for years to be the storm-center of the Territory. This first colony was soon followed by others from the Eastern States.

Such was the deafening flourish of trumpets echoing from one end of the land to the other, which heralded the advent into Kansas of Eli Thayer's New England regiment of 29. From the prodigious hubbub made over them, people have supposed they were another small Marathonian band marching forth alone to combat the countless host of slavery. But the fact is they found already hundreds of settlers in Kansas, mostly from the West-Northern States. The latter differed from their East-Northern neighbors in a number of points, but both resolutely agreed on one point: Kansas must be a Free-State. Moreover these Westerners were fighters, no doubt about it; they came rather expecting a fight; they were chosen, by a kind of Natural Selection, to migrate to Kansas, every man with his trusty rifle in hand. At the same time they were farmers, and tradesmen, and artisans, devoted to the works of peace, but ready for war if the time called for it. A strong courageous individuality they possessed, otherwise they would not have ventured into this troubled borderland. They remained the large majority of the Free-State people of Kansas and fought her battles during the whole Ten Years' War.



In such fashion we must conceive the two great migrations, the unorganized and organized, the one from the West the other from the East. Both of them continued their activity for years and were united in the one great purpose of making Kansas a Free-State, which purpose was uppermost in each. But outside of this supreme point of unity there were many differences. The Westerners as a whole were hardly anti-slavery, they disliked the negro, believed his presence to be a curse to the white man, and were determined to keep not only the slave but the free African out of the new State. In fact many non-slaveholders from the South who came to Kansas changed to Free-State men when they heard this view; Eli Thayer says a majority of them did so. However strange the expression may seem to us now, it is probable that the larger number of these early emigrants were pro-slavery Free-State men. They were inclined to believe that the natural condition of the negro was that of a slave, but he must stay in the old Slave States, and not come either as freeman or slave into this our white man's territory. This consciousness we must understand, as it alone explains much of the political conduct of these early settlers. Their first constitution allowed no black man, bond or free, to abide within the State.

The New England emigrants, though fewer in

number, had the advantage in education, in organizing power and in the ability to use all the modern implements of civilization. Hence they were the leaders from the start. In one of the earliest lot of colonists came Charles Robinson, whom Thayer first saw in one of his New England meetings, and engaged as agent of the Emigrant Aid Company. Of all the men who won distinction in this Kansas epic, Robinson would have our vote to be pedestaled as hero. Not Lane, not John Brown, but Robinson was the savior of Kansas. He was the born leader, gauging aright the people whom he was to lead, what they would and would not do. He saw clearly that he could concentrate the most diverse followers, from North and South, from East and West, upon one thing and one thing only: Kansas must be a Free-State. Moreover Robinson was an institutional man, he had untold trouble not merely with the pro-slavery enemy, but with the anti-slavery revolutionists and anarchists. The Garrisonians denounced him and sought to nullify his work. But he, though an abolitionist in conviction, knew that his prime duty was to pluck the fruit within his reach. This he did with a determination and success which we may fairly call heroic.

## III.

But the chief difference between the unorganized and the organized emigrants was that the former had no means of reaching the great public of the North, of whose cause they were the outpost. Their sufferings and their deeds would have remained quite unvoiced, had it not been for those tonguey Yankees with their unparalleled gift of making themselves heard. These could all write and send letters home, which would get into print. They were not only well-schooled in speech, but had a native gift for talking and scribbling. Herein they were true to their inheritance. The early Puritans have set down their spirit's struggles and their history more completely than any other recorded colony; not even the Greek who certainly had a tongue, ever used it with such an unceasing outpour, as the New Englander. Moreover the Emigrant Aid Society had connections with the most important newspapers of the Eastern States. Eli Thayer knew Horace Greeley and could set that mighty fog-horn of the Atlantic, the New York *Tribune*, to blowing its very best, sending its reverberations to almost every hamlet of the North. Here lay Thayer's greatest work. He had a chief hand in organizing that vast reduplicating and often magnifying machine, the newspaper press, in the interest of the Kansas conflict.

Then the New England clergymen could not be kept silent, but a continuous line of pulpits reaching across the Free States from Maine to California, would become resonant with vocal thunder over Kansas. Here again one voice was pre-eminent, that of Henry Ward Beecher, who likewise employed the printing press to reduplicate his eloquence through the land.

To be sure, there was opposition. It was said that preachers should not mix in politics, but leave that field wholly to the sinner. Much was made of the fact when Beecher subscribed a Sharpe's rifle for the defense of Lawrence, and specially for terrifying the Missourians, who regarded it as a kind of magical, self-firing gun capable of finding its mark, which was an invader's breast, at almost any distance. The fabulous qualities of this weapon played havoc with the imaginations of the ignorant borderers. This mythical tendency of theirs was carefully nursed by the cunning Yankees, so that Robinson could say, when he obtained a consignment of Sharpe's rifles: Now we shall win without shedding a drop of blood. Indeed one cannot help thinking that imagination has been playing around that grand army of 29 whom we saw setting out from Boston as ordinary men, but whom the alchemy of Time has transformed into giants, veritable Atlases each capable of upholding, if not the world, at least the Free State of Kansas.



But, strange to say, Thayer's chief enemies in the East were the abolitionists, especially the Garrisonians, who were thorough-going disunionists and believed in revolution. Phillips, Garrison and the other followers sought in every way to discredit the Emigrant Aid Society. But Thayer showed himself their superior all along the line, approved himself an institutional man, and so won the popular heart. He struck the deepest chord of the Folk-soul of the North in saying: No more Slave-States, but it must be done by constitutional means. Moreover he goes to the people direct, and enlists them in his cause; he has little faith in Congress and its politicians as a means for freeing Kansas. We have already had a sufficiency of resolutions, of enactments, of provisos. Anyhow, legislators go back to the people as their source, and this source Thayer proposed to reach directly. He believed in the Union, but this Union, the mother of States, must give birth to no more slave-children; it is our first duty now, in this age, to see that her progeny henceforth be born free.

There has been some controversy over these two kinds of migration to Kansas. Which did the work and made it a Free-State? The East and the West have been inclined to lock horns on this and on other matters. It is evident, however, that both were necessary parts of one

great process, the unorganized and the organized movements were complements of each other. The unorganized movement rested upon individual initiative, its irregular members were first on the ground, and that too in considerable numbers and ever-increasing. Says one of these earliest emigrants in an address many years afterwards: "At this early day (June-July, 1854) emigrants from every Western State were pouring in. We (in Kansas) had not yet heard of the New England Emigrant Aid Society." (S. N. Wood, from Ohio.) As already noted, Thayer's first installment of 29, reached Kansas in August, and they found hundreds already there. Such were the materials, quite leaderless and voiceless, for organization. This is what came in with the New England emigrants, the result of superior education. The Yankees were used to the town-meeting and a highly developed communal life, hence they organized easily, fell naturally into an ordered, yet throbbing civic activity. They started at once to found towns, of which the first and most famous was Lawrence with its schools, its newspapers, its conventions, its tumultuous life full of manifold fatalities. The town was the embodiment of the Yankee idea and always drew the fire of the Southerners; it was the center around which the early history of Kansas swirls and was born talking and writing, to fire the Northern heart, which

was ready to thrill in response to the tones of the vast megaphone, the newspaper press of the East, set to vibrating to the cries of Lawrence. It is curious that Thayer, a tireless talker himself and doing his chief work through talk and through exciting talk in others, written, printed, as well as spoken, disparages talk in his book (*The Kansas Crusade*), and sets forth a curious psychology on the subject. "The best men in our cause," he declares, "are those who say little or nothing." The trouble with the Garrisonian abolitionists, he thinks, is that they spend all their feeling in speech and not in action. The deep sense of wrong should drive the arm and not the tongue. The end of emotion is an act, not a word, and so on. It is well for Thayer that he did not follow his own prescription. For his true work lay not in the few hundred colonists he sent to Kansas, but in the fact that he set every tongue in the North (and in the South also) to wagging upon this subject of Kansas. Undoubtedly the country was ready to talk and to be talked to about this matter, for the secretly fermenting Folk-Soul of America was resolving that Mother Union should bear no more slave-children as States. The North, now having the greater strength in votes, had already decided to enforce that principle peacefully by ballot. Doubtless too it was getting prepared, in the obscure and unconscious depths of its

moral conviction, to follow up the ballot by the deed of arms, if necessary. So we may now say, looking backwards.

On account of the noise made over it on the hustings, in the pulpit, and in the newspaper, the Emigrant Aid Society became for years the target of the batteries of the South and its supporters. President Pierce, Douglas, as well as the Southerners talked back at it, with a prodigious outlay of vituperative eloquence. It was deemed the cause of all the Kansas troubles. A handbill was circulated in Missouri offering a reward for Thayer's head. But Thayer stayed in the East, and kept his talking mill at work, which was altogether the most effective thing he could do. All the talk of the South was but the noise of a tiny pop-gun compared to the reverberation of the Northern columbiads echoing from the Atlantic over the Alleghenies through the Mississippi Valley and the region of the Lakes, and stirring the Folk-Soul to kindred thrills.

Such is the process which has now started and will continue throughout this conflict in Kansas. Her shrieks, caused by the tortures of the invaders with the connivance and even instigation of the Washington government, will be reverberated from the press and made to vibrate in every Northern heart, which is thus getting prepared for the mightier task that the World-Spirit has laid upon the Nation.



## IV.

The reader may now see the two conflicting elements, Free-Stateism and Slave-Stateism, which, though long since enemies with threatening mien against each other, have gone to the New West, even to the newest part of it, and have there grappled in desperate struggle. It is evident that the settlers who have come into the Territory from the North, and whose fundamental right has been so defiantly violated, must get themselves into some kind of organization, semi-political and also semi-military, which will hold the longitudinal line of settlements against the attacks from the Missouri border. For the line between Free-State and Slave-State no longer is to run latitudinally from East to West, as it has hitherto done in the State-producing process, but is to make a sudden deflection and run longitudinally from North to South, breaking the westward movement of slavery just along the Missouri border. Here, then, the Free-State men of Kansas are massing themselves in a kind of living human battlement, as yet more by instinct than by conscious purpose and order. The Southerners on their side undertake to push this longitudinal line around up to Nebraska, making it still latitudinal, and dividing the country still into the two kinds of States, slave and free. Therein, however, they took up

the gage of battle with the World-Spirit, with Civilization herself, or in Homeric conception, with Olympian Zeus, who had decreed in the council of the Gods assembled anew for our American Iliad that the Federal Union must stop producing Slave-States: which decree was now being voiced thousandfold and thundered through the land, thereby impressing itself upon every Northern heart and becoming the deep aspiration as well as the strong resolution of the Folk-Soul. Very significant, therefore, is this new direction of the boundary-line separating North and South with a rampart of strong bodies and even stronger spirits, which we may deem a living embankment for stopping the further overflow of slavery into the Territories of the United States.

The next thing, then, is to see these emigrants, coming individually or in little bands, organize themselves into a great totality with a common purpose. They lie at first scattered over Eastern Kansas on their farms and in their little towns an incoherent mass, not easy to bring into unity and order. Separated from one another, not only spatially but mentally, coming from every quarter of the Union, South and North, East and West, they were full of mutual repugnances, jealousies, prejudices; a collection of self-repellent atoms, quite as ready to fight one another as the invaders, they seemed an easy prey to the better organized Missourians.

There was indeed only one thing to be done. That was to form a counter-organization upon the one point about which they were all united: Kansas must be a Free-State. Around this center the hitherto centrifugal atoms could be brought to gather and to get into order, yea into a line of battle against the invaders. During the summer and fall (1855) after the invasion this unification was taking place with no little hubbub, and speechifying, and passion. Unquestionably the leader of it was Charles Robinson who saw distinctly the work to be done and how to do it. The position which Kansas now takes through his influence made her a Free-State, and she held it substantially till she entered the Union.

Ere we pass on, we may take a glance at the Territorial Legislature which was elected by the Missourians. It met and ousted all the Free-State men except one, who soon quit in disgust. It rendered itself infamous by passing an inhuman slave-code, but this was of no practical account, since there were very few slaves in Kansas, and slaveholders could not be induced to risk such valuable property in the present uncertain hurly-burly. In fact the Legislature dropped into insignificance. It moved the capital from Pawnee to Shawnee close to the Missouri border, where its members could be nearer home and

surer of personal safety. From this act came the breach with Governor Reeder, the most important event of its life.

Lawrence is really the center of the Kansas movement at this time, being for a while the very pivot of the conflict of the epoch between Free-Stateism and Slave-Stateism. It may be said that the World's History just now is present and at work in that little Kansas town, for the two sides of the coming struggle distinctly define themselves there, and arm themselves for the onset. The agitation was furious, and could not stop; the unorganized mass with its recalcitrant units had to be churned together till it got organized under an idea and could be handled by its leader. During these months there was such an incessant whirl of conventions, celebrations, elections, consultations that the head grows dizzy in trying to follow all the eddies of the maelstrom. People would not stay apart but seemed unhappy if alone. The atoms were whirled in a kind of vortex, thereby being fused and associated for the grand purpose. But the outer scene is like the fermentation of a huge beer-vat, with thousands of bubbles ever rising, colliding, and exploding. Who can count them, not to speak of getting them into any connected scheme in their infinitesimal caprices? Surely a Power is in possession of these restless souls coalescing, separating, coalescing again in never-ceasing



round; the Strong Hand of the Ages is driving them within and without, churning them out of their chaos into something like a cosmical order, surely not without design.

In such a seething mass where everything is fluid and in the process of formation, we shall select and hold fast to the following main events.

1. The work of the Missourians must be counteracted by setting up the machinery of a State-government and applying for its admission to the Union. That would violate no law, yet would show the Territorial Legislature thoroughly discredited by the People, who now would have their own political organization round which they could rally. This scheme came from Robinson's brain, and must be pronounced very adroit. It acted as a continuous checkmate upon the Missourians, who sought in various ways to destroy it, but never succeeded. Its supporters avoided any clash with the United States Government, or even with the Territorial Legislature, whose enactments it quietly let bubble off and burst in the air.

This we shall call Robinson's anti-government, a kind of government taking the place of government, a most ingenious contrivance made to keep alive the right which was illegal against the wrong which was legal. Thus we behold two governments over the same people at work in mutual counteraction: the letter of the Law

without the spirit made the one, and the spirit of the Law without the letter made the other, and the two fight and keep fighting. Strange contest is it for us to witness: a body without a soul versus a soul without a body. Desperate is their struggle; which will win? That is yet to be told.

2. While Robinson was harmonizing all the discordant elements and concentrating the People upon the one great object, a man appeared at Lawrence (summer of 1855) who was destined to give him much trouble by running a negative, counteracting thread through all his efforts and those of the Free-State men. This was James H. Lane, who, born in Kentucky, had emigrated to Indiana, from which State he had been appointed Colonel of a regiment in the Mexican war, and afterwards had been elected Lieutenant Governor of the State; also he had served as a representative in Congress. The first note of opposition to the general movement initiated and conducted by Robinson came from a small convention (June 27th, 1855) calling itself democratic, of which Lane was the leading spirit, and which resolved that what Kansas most needed was "an early organization of the Democratic party." Lane at this time was pro-slavery in sentiment, and maintained the right as well as the legality of the Territorial Legislature; he held that Kansas was destined to become a Slave

State. This last doctrine particularly was not acceptable to the majority of Democrats now in Kansas. So Lane began to veer about, and was soon found in the ranks of the Free-State people, in which he had the most unique of all these Kansas careers, as he was the most unique character in the whole borderland.

It is hard to tell to-day on which side Lane really was at heart, if indeed he had any heart for either side. Many hold that he was ready, as occasion offered, to support both sides and to betray both. Robinson suspected him to the last, and it would seem, with good reason. Already in these early days they had singled each other out, not only as rivals, but as irreconcilable foes, even when both of them were acting together in the same party for the same end. Robinson saw in him the demonic marplot, who might, if opportunity smiled, turn traitor and destroy the cause. There is no doubt that Lane had great gifts of a certain kind, indeed he was possessed of flashes of momentary genius. His rugged, drastic, sensuous eloquence, not always grammatical or free from coarseness, went home to the Westerners in Kansas, being in their native dialect. The filed, round-spoken phrases of the Yankee talkers were more correct rhetoric after the books, and certainly looked better in print; but they could not compare for immediate effect with Lane's harangues, irregular but spontane-

ous and flat-spoken, as if born on the spot from the flat prairie upon which his audience stood drinking down his words of fire that hissed home red-hot to the frontiersman's responsive heart. There is no denying that Lane was a leader and persuader of men, though most could not help at the same time detecting a false note winding through his words and deeds, even through his whole character. Fascination he had, but it was of the Satanic kind. His most illustrious victim in this line was Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States, whom for a while Lane held quite spell-bound in his personal schemes, to the incalculable injury of Kansas and of the Union cause, till the diabolic charm was broken.

Lane, then, must be deemed the Mephistopheles of this Kansas drama, the spirit that denies, meaning No even when saying and acting Yes, having always in his affirmative a deeper negative. Faithful neither to God nor to God's enemies, not even faithful to himself in the long run, unless suicide be a kind of last fidelity, for he, having entangled himself in a perfect network of villainies, winds up by killing himself.

3. The Kansas cauldron had been seething for months and bubbling over with all sorts of conferences, conventions, resolutions and eloquences, turning into solid fact that fantastic witch-work of Shakespeare with its uncanny re-



refrain: *Double, double toil and trouble, Fire burn and cauldron bubble.* A swirling agitation lifts the people off their feet and dashes them around and around helplessly in a magic circle, without much apparent result at first except the gyration and the accompanying many-sided vociferation. But finally the undigested mass of struggling atoms begins to show centers of coherence; surely it is getting itself organized. The first manifestation of making real the new order is the convention which assembles at Big Springs, Oct. 5th. The Free-State party is here definitely born after the long travail, and given a name and a purpose. Big Springs had four or five log-cabins at that time; the hundred delegates and three hundred spectators took up their abode on the open prairie. Lawrence could have accommodated these people, but it was evidently shunned as too hot or too black. For the Convention was decidedly of an anti-negro complexion. Two men in it we must look at.

The first is Reeder, sometime Governor, but now deposed from office, having become meanwhile a most violent Free State man. He makes a fiery speech, yea intemperate, giving once at least quite a revolutionary squint when he speaks of a possible "bloody issue." Of course his audience applauded tremendously there on the free prairie, being also in a warlike mood. Still how could they help having a little furtive

chuckle at the ex-Governor's expense! For he was the man who had legalized that fraudulent Territorial Legislature, against which this whole movement was directed. They nominated him for Delegate, a formal recognition of his new zeal. But Reeder's best service was outside of Kansas, especially in his native Pennsylvania, where his listeners could not so well have in mind that he had once set up the very thing which he was now so eager to knock down. Those hardy frontiersmen were never without a sense of humor, even in their keenest distress, and Reeder's forced somersault landing him down in their midst frenzied with wrath and overflowing with execration, furnished them much amusement and more satisfaction. There could be, however, no question about the sincerity of Reeder, nor about his great services to the cause after he got his eyes open.

Another character who played an important part at Big Springs was the before-mentioned James H. Lane, our Kansas Mephistopheles. His independent Democratic raft having sunk out of sight, he leaps on board of the Free State ship with such zeal and dexterity that he gets himself at once appointed helmsman. He is chosen chairman of the Committee of thirteen who are to make the platform. So he formulates the policy of the future. It is declared that "the best interests of Kansas require a

population of white men," and of white men alone. In our new State negroes of every condition, bond and free, are to be excluded. There is no doubt that the majority of the Convention agreed with Lane in these statements and stoutly denied the imputation that a Free-State man was an abolitionist. Lane seems to have had full swing, Robinson not being present at this Convention.

4. The next important assemblage was the Constitutional Convention which came together at Topeka October 23rd, 1855. Lane was chosen president. The political character of the body is significant of early Kansas. There were 34 members; 19 reported themselves democrats, the other 15 were divided up among half a dozen different parties, know-nothings, republicans, etc. The majority showed themselves friendly to the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Douglas, which they never blamed for their troubles. In fact the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty mightily appealed to these strong-boned, self-reliant Westerners; they did not ask Congress to exclude slavery from Kansas, they felt perfectly able to do it themselves, if they were given a fair chance. We must recollect that the first Constitution making Kansas a Free-State was the work of Douglas democrats. This fact Douglas himself did not appreciate till it was too late to recover his vantage-ground. The present year

(1855) he was still catering to the South for the coming nomination to the Presidency, wherein he is destined not to succeed. After his failure he will turn to support his Kansas friends, but the tide had gone out and left him stranded.

Again the burning question harassed the Convention, What shall be our attitude toward the negro? Lane advocated their exclusion, and carried the Convention with him, though Robinson, who was now present, fought it, and finally succeeded in having the black clause specially referred to the vote of the People along with the Constitution. But the people voted by a majority of nearly three to one for exclusion, ratifying at the same time the Constitution by 1731 votes to 46. Still at this election they chose Charles Robinson, though a pronounced abolitionist, for Governor instead of Lane, to pilot them through the threatening tempest of the future. Surely a marvelous case of true instinct on the part of the People, who take the right man who disagrees and reject the wrong man who agrees, with their prejudices.

5. The next important meeting was that of the Legislature of the new State chosen under the Topeka Constitution, which thus shows itself a working instrument (March 4, 1856). Governor Robinson gave his inaugural, outlining a firm, but cautious, law-abiding policy. The Legislature elected two United States Senators — Reeder

and Lane, and asked for admission to the Union. The man of the hour was clearly Robinson. He had to steer his ship so that it would not collide with the General government or with the Territorial government. And yet he had to outwit both, and really put them down, besides restraining the violent heads on his own side, and meeting the Missourians with violence, if they attacked unlawfully. All the unruly, revolutionary, fanatical elements of the North were flocking into Kansas; among them appeared at Lawrence one day John Brown, with whom also Robinson stands in decided contrast as an institutional man controlling the anarchic elements on both sides, South and North.

6. We must not fail to notice the part of our American Mephistopheles, who now appears at Washington, with the written instrument of the Topeka Legislature, asking for the admission of Kansas into the Union. The document was presented in such a condition to the Senate that its genuineness was at once suspected; for instance all its signatures were in the same handwriting, and the well-known clause excluding the negro was omitted. Lane sought to excuse it and then to amend it, but without success. Douglas assailed it as fraudulent, as having no date, no genuine signatures, as suppressing a material provision, namely the black clause. Lane demanded an explanation of the attack upon his



honor, but never received it from Douglas. This episode, however, was the turning-point in Lane's democracy, his enthusiasm for the doctrines of the Little Giant underwent an instantaneous change. The House of Representatives regarded the instrument with more favor, using it as a weapon against the Administration.

As in many other actions, the motives of Lane in this maneuver are not easy to fathom. Did he really intend to discredit the Kansas Constitution in Congress? Was he secretly scheming to undo the labor of the Free-State men? He knew that his special antagonist, Robinson, who thoroughly believed in his duplicity, was already the Governor and would continue to be the foremost man of the new State. Mephistopheles may have seen his own supremacy in the ruins of the work of his party. Many thought and still think that Lane's Free-Stateism was a mask for ambition, which would not hesitate at any deed of Satanic treachery or destruction. Robinson, who had to watch him and to countermine his plottings for years, has left this view of him: "Totally without principles or convictions of any kind, cowardly and treacherous." We doubt if Lane was always cowardly; for he certainly did at times fight, though he had also the gift of disappearing opportunely from danger.

7. At the best the Topeka Constitution was irregular, and from a legal point of view could

not hold water. But it showed these Western settlers in a peculiar American function: State-making. They could construct their own State as distinct from Missouri, some of whose residents had sought to usurp that function. Americanism lies fundamentally in being able to make institutions when they are needed. In fact the American must make them, they are not to be put on him from the outside.

The result is Kansas has two governments, parallel yet running in opposite directions. The one is legal but wrong, the other illegal but right. Moreover the one is slave and the other free. Both sides come to Congress and divide it, the Senate taking one side and the House the other. Thus the original dualism of the Federal Union with its slavery and its freedom goes over into Kansas and makes of it for a time two States, or rather two governments, which henceforth will rasp and fight against each other, struggling for supremacy. Robinson's scheme will hold the Free-State men together by means of a definite political aim, till the time comes for a more legal Constitution.

Meanwhile colonists from the North keep pouring over the border, both individually and in small groups. The Emigrant Aid Society pushes its work, exciting an incessant roar of denunciation and of approval from the two opposite parties. The New England snowball, starting

on its native hills not very large, would roll westward, gaining successive accretions in its journey till it would reach the plains of Kansas in considerable size, and then melt into its individual constituents, each of them being prepared for the expected contest. Thus an army of volunteers was enlisted in the North whose Folk-Soul was stirred continually by the reports from Kansas, and was prompting many to migration.

The Southerners tried to force Governor Robinson and the Free-State men to do just that which they will themselves do later: to assail the Government. But Robinson was too wary to be caught in the trap they had set for him. We shall hereafter see the Southerners, when voted out of power in the Nation, proceed to act the part which they had schemed for the Free-State men of Kansas, attempting to drive the latter into collision with established authority. But they failed to force Robinson to do what they would have done, had they been placed in his situation. Their device to throw him into antagonism to the Government was born of their own hearts, and so they utterly failed to grasp his character. If he had been they, they would certainly have succeeded, since they measured him by themselves, having indeed no other measure. But Robinson's mental range lay quite beyond their consciousness, he knew them, but they did not and could

not know him; hence their blows, elaborately planned, so often went wide of the mark and even turned to boomerangs.

## V.

In the spring before these events, Governor Reeder had gone back home, and at Easton, Pa., he had made a speech to his Democratic neighbors on the enormities of the Kansas invasion. The speech was printed in the newspapers and read with avidity throughout the North. The fact that he was the Democratic appointee of the Administration, and had gone to Kansas a pro-slavery man, imparted a convincing power to his words. Then he went to Washington and had several interviews with President Pierce whom he sought to gain for Kansas. But he soon found that he was a doomed man; he must resign or be removed. After some parleyings he refused to resign, and returned to Kansas where on August 15th he received notice of his removal in the midst of a hot quarrel with the Territorial Legislature. He resolved to stay in Kansas, and became an important leader of the Free-State party. He was the first of the considerable line of Kansas Territorial Governors who were speedily precipitated from their seats by the Kansas whirl-wind.

While at Washington Reeder makes the discovery, to him very surprising, that the Admin-

istration is with the Missourians, and is secretly egging them on through Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War and head of the inner slave-holding circle at the Capital. To be sure the partisans of the Administration could show to Reeder his own certificates of election legalizing that Territorial Legislature which he now claimed to be fraudulent. Thus he was caught in that peculiar Kansas grind between legality which is wrong and illegality which is right. But Reeder acknowledged his mistake and certainly tried to undo it with a considerable outlay of energy and ability. Already we have noted him as one of the leading men in the Free-State Convention at Big Springs.

But the chief thing which is brought to the surface by these events connected with Reeder's removal, is the process which they reveal, and which generates them in order. As this will continue to the end of the Kansas troubles, we may bring out its nature more fully, by stating its main points in brief:

1st. *Washington.* The source of the irritation goes back to the Administration, which had resolved to make Kansas a Slave-State. It was soon found that the Free-State men had the majority, and so violence was to be employed by means of the Missourians. Jefferson Davis has always had the credit of being the main mover in this scheme. The minority must still rule,



otherwise the South, being now the minority of the Nation, will have to give up its leadership maintained for two generations.

2nd. *Kansas*. The resistance of the Free-State people to Slave-Stateism led to the invasions, the arbitrary actions of the administrative officials, the abuses committed by the legislative and judicial powers of the Territory. Outrage, torture, murder were the result, with outcries and shrieks of pain from its victim. "Bleeding Kansas," as the time phrased it, became the all-absorbing theme of the Folk-Soul, rousing sympathy or perchance satire according to the man.

3rd. *The Nation*. Between the center at Washington and the border of Kansas lay the listening Nation, whose ears were filled with the echoes of these Kansas shrieks, reverberated in the North by press, pulpit, hustings. Eli Thayer got even the Yankee schoolmistresses to working for Kansas, and they too are known to have tongues. Of course the South also had its reverberating machine at work, but it was a puny piping in comparison to the Northern reduplicator thousand-mouthed. It is still amusing to see the Southern senators and journals curse the big Northern machine in a kind of helplessness. Why did not they construct a similar one? That was indeed a striking part of their weakness; but of this more will be said later.

Such, however, is the round of this historic

process: from Washington to Kansas, then from Kansas back to the People lying between, who are finally to determine Washington. Evidently here a mighty discipline of a nation is taking place for some very important future task. The American Folk-Soul, so we may name it, is in great distress, which is growing greater, quite beyond the point of further endurance. It is divided within itself into two antipathetic, if not warring halves, which get to downright battle in Kansas. It is becoming a cleft Folk-Soul, cleft into North and South, or into Free-States and Slave-States. The question is burning in every heart: Shall this so-called Union remain dual, in an eternal wrangle or shall it be made one and a real Union? The Spirit of the Age, the Genius of History may be heard commanding first in a whisper which is soon to break out into thunder tones: The strain of destiny woven into the Constitution at its birth and burdening it with its own deepest self-contradiction must now be eliminated; it can no longer remain half-slave, half-free, in the prophetic words of the coming leader.

The cleft Folk-Soul is becoming aware of its cleavage, and is slowly resolving to get rid of the rent somehow. The whole Kansas discipline with its ever-recurring process is to bring the People to a consciousness of their halved condition. They wake up to find themselves not a Union,

and are beginning to grasp for the means of becoming a Union. The dissonance sounding back from the plains of Kansas and stirring the Folk-Soul with a deep response, brings it to feel its own dissonance. Such is the folk-psychological process now going on, which is the profound historic purpose underlying and controlling these Kansas events.

Say the Missourians to the Kansans: We intend to drive you around up to Nebraska, where you belong. There you can have your Free-State on a line with the other Free-States. But this territory of Kansas is ours, and we shall make it a Slave-State, thus keeping the Union divided, half-slave and half-free.

Say the Kansans to the Missourians: Nebraska is indeed a goodly land, but there we feel no soul-compelling principle at stake along its latitudinal bound running westward. So we pass down to Kansas and to conflict, forming a new longitudinal bound, and building along it against slavery our bulwark of farms, on which indeed we intend to raise corn and potatoes with our own right hand, but also to try the issue of the age which has written upon our hearts the command: No more Slave-States are to be born of mother Union, our beloved, prolific, State-bearing mother.

That indeed may well be called the new Union

or the beginning thereof, whose evolution is the very soul of this Ten-Years' War.

It was not long before the pro-slavery party saw that they had been thwarted. Their deed of violence had united the Free-State men, and had called forth Robinson's scheme of an anti-government, which quite counteracted the work of the Territorial Legislature. What was to be done? A blow must be struck, and again it was resolved to resort to violence. Another invasion of the Missourians was the plan, but this time its purpose was not to vote but to destroy. The Free-State center, Lawrence, home of Robinson and supposed source of all agitation was to be wiped out literally; the Free-State men were to be driven away; but chiefly the anti-government was to be obliterated. Accordingly a new irritant or instrument of torture was to be applied to Kansas from the outside, trying to force her to be that which she is not and can never be.

So we come to the Second Invasion of Kansas from Missouri, planned and carried out, some eight or nine months after the first one already narrated, which has evidently failed of its purpose. The Legislature then elected holds its sessions indeed, and passes laws, which, however, as they never came from the People, never go back to the People, but remain legal phantoms without the blood of life.

## The Second Invasion.

Early in December, 1855, some twelve hundred men or more were encamped in Kansas along a small stream which bore the name of Wakerusa. Nearly all of them had come across the border from Missouri, to which they intended to return when their present task was finished. They were a miscellaneous crowd armed with miscellaneous weapons — rifles, horse-pistols, shot-guns, and even the old rusty flint-lock is said to have appeared. They had straggled from various Missouri towns in groups which took what they wanted from the surrounding country. It was a disorderly band, swearing, swaggering, whisky-drinking, with small semblance of military organization. On the Wakerusa they lay foraging the neighboring farms, and discharging oaths at a town whose roofs and steeples were in sight, and which was the chief objective point of their expedition. Still they did not attack it, though they had come for that purpose.

This town was Lawrence, the storm-center of the Territory, which also showed signs of war during these days. Its citizens were under arms and drilling; earth-works had been thrown up as rude fortifications defended by six hundred men not



without lines of grim determination in their faces. Moreover one-third had that wonderful weapon, Sharpe's rifle, a breech-loader, rapid-firing, capable of sending a bullet through its victim at the distance of half a mile or more, to which real qualities were added other marvelous attributes terrifying to the invaders along the Wakerusa.

Such were the two foes that stood glaring fiercely at each other for many days, showing their teeth but never coming to an actual bite. Now and then, especially under the cover of night, a stray bullet would whiz out the camp toward the hated town, but nobody was ever hit and the shot was not returned. The one side seemed to have discipline and maintained a strictly defensive attitude, though they were called the outlaws; the other side was an unruly and unruled multitude, though they had named themselves the party of Law and Order, for whose defense they as chivalrous sons of Light had sallied from their castles in Missouri to the lawless and benighted land of Kansas. Thus again we hear the strident contradiction of the time: Disorder claims to be the maker and upholder of Order, while Order is set down as the maker and upholder of Disorder.

Once more the two forces of this conflict are lined up for battle, and seem about to grapple. It is not merely a neighborhood quarrel or a border

foray, but these two contending sides have behind them the divisions of a great people and the future of a whole continent. We have already called it our American Iliad, not yet sung but certainly acted under the supervision of the Gods, not now the old Homeric Olympians but still higher divinities, whom also we shall have to invoke, and perchance introduce, if we are to catch the whole significance of this new Ten Years' War.

# I.

But what brought matters to the present pass along the Wakerusa? A Slave-State man by the name of Coleman quarreled with his neighbor, a Free-State man called Dow, about a land-claim, and ended by slaying him. At once some Free-State settlers, friends of the murdered man, rose and burned the cabins of the other side. A friend of the murderer fled to Westport, a border-town of Missouri, and gave the alarm. The Sheriff of the Kansas County where the deed took place lived at Westport; he crossed the border with a warrant for the arrest of old Jacob Branson, friend of Dow, who was accused of threatening vengeance against the accomplice of the murderer.

Sheriff Jones, the officer of the law, with his posse slips into Branson's cabin at dead of night, arrests him and starts for Leecompton. But the morning-sun scatters the news, and soon a party

of fifteen resolute Free-State men start in pursuit; they intercept the Sheriff who stopped too often along the road for refreshments, till finally he had to face the muzzles of squirrel guns and even some Sharpe's rifles. The argument was convincing, and Branson was given up without a shot.

The rescuers, knowing that they had violated law, hasten to Lawrence to advise with the people there, friendly but seeking to avoid every appearance of legal violation. Robinson, the leading spirit of the town, said: "I am afraid the affair will make mischief." The people assembled in town-meeting and discussed the situation. They concluded that they could not harbor the rescuers, but must avoid giving any pretext for invasion from Missouri, which they knew awaited them on the least provocation. So Jacob Branson and his friends pass out of Lawrence into some other place of hiding and out of view of History.

This was the event which caused Lawrence to prepare for war, having heard only rumors from Missouri, and feeling the situation to be perilous. A committee of safety was appointed, the citizens were mustered and trained in guard duty, and the town built fortifications on every side. They knew their foe, who was armed with the law of the Territory, and who had the government of the United States on his side. Still they felt

they were the advance guard of Civilization, of the coming United States, not the present, and so they stood in a Marathonian struggle against the mighty powers directed against their little band, inspired, we may say, by the World-Spirit.

In their emergency the people chose Robinson to be their leader with the title of major-general though he was not a military man. Lane was made the second in command, though he had been an officer in the Mexican War. This selection we may regard as a judgment of the two rivals by the people, a judgment which the future has pronounced [circumspect but correct, in view of the characters of the two men.

With a parting glance at the rescuers hurrying off in one direction, we shall turn back to take a look at Sheriff Jones, slowly retracing his steps toward Missouri in the opposite direction without old Jacob Branson, whose only crime was to have made some threats against the assassins of his friend Dow. It was indeed humiliating; the Sheriff with his men cowed, thwarted, and wrathful, when alone, resolved at once to take revenge and sent to Missouri for assistance, his message even reaching the Capital of the State, Jefferson City, where the Legislature was in session. Through the Missouri towns the importunate cry resounded: Help, help to put down the new outbreak of the Abolitionists against Law and Order. The Sheriff estimated that 3,000 men

would be required to do the work effectually. His heated imagination saw in the rescuers an army, whereas they numbered just fifteen with eight guns in the crowd, and one human catapult, a Free-State man armed with two big stones in default of other weapons.

The men whom we have seen encamped along the banks of the Wakerusa were those who responded to the Sheriff's request. At first he did not think of calling on the territorial executive for aid, but somebody suggested it as the proper thing, and so he appealed to Shannon, the new Governor of Kansas, with a blood-curdling recital of outrages inflicted upon constituted authority. At this point is introduced into the present invasion a new element of which some account must be taken.

## II.

Wilson Shannon, a well-known public man from Ohio, of good reputation, was appointed by Pierce as the successor of Reeder. He arrived September 3rd at Shawnee Mission, the capital, was accorded a flattering reception by the pro-slavery party, and was at once completely benetted by their schemes. He took their view in regard to Kansas, denouncing Lawrence and Big Springs with their conventions, and Topeka with its Constitution and Legislature, in terms which seemed to be put into his



mouth by the Missourians. To look into the other side never entered his head, till it got a heavy knock. "The President is behind you," he cried out triumphing in a speech, "the President is behind you," namely you the Missourians, who had assumed the name of the Law and Order Party. Particularly the anti-government of Robinson was declared to be treasonable.

Such was the entrance of Wilson Shannon into Kansas Territory, of which he was Governor. In these early words of his we catch the echo of the President's instructions to him, or rather those of Jefferson Davis who was at this time the power behind the Presidential puppet. Fresh from Washington these words seem to come, reverberating through the mouth of Shannon. But is there no power behind Pierce and Davis and all Washington? If not, woe be unto Kansas and all of us.

The truth soon comes out that in Kansas the executive and legislative powers combined were having no success. The Free-State men got along without both, by one makeshift or other, being reduced to an atomic condition. They made no attack, no resistance to the authority which, even if legal, was fraudulent in origin. The Missourians had destroyed the American State-making principle by violently supplanting the independent voter and settler. But the American did not propose to allow the usurpation

to pass unchallenged since it assailed his deepest political consciousness, and deprived him of his first right, that of making his own institutions.

In this time of the declining Slave-State cause, there occurred the events already mentioned: the murder of Dow, the rescue of Branson, and the Sheriff's call upon the Governor for troops. Shannon promptly responded, but not more than fifty men in Kansas could be found ready to sacrifice themselves in such a cause, which seemed peculiarly that of the Missourians, whose numbers and zeal have been already celebrated in the exploits along the banks of the Wakerusa.

So Lawrence remained in a state of siege for many days; the besiegers did not dare attack, and the besieged kept strictly on the defensive from policy. At last a Committee from the town got through the lines of the enemy and reached the Governor, who, after spending his ill-humor in a severe lecture, was ready to listen to the other side. The Committee presented their case, the Governor showed something of an inner revulsion. "I shall go to Lawrence," says he — a visit which he ought to have made long since. But first he went to the camp on the Wakerusa, where he found an undisciplined mass of men frenzied by whisky and clamoring to attack the town in utter ignorance of its strength which, however, was well known to their

leaders. Shannon dissuaded, in fact, forbade by virtue of his office any such movement.

Then he went to Lawrence December 7th. He must have been struck by the contrast. Here was order and sobriety, doubtless coupled with a strong determination. His demands were chiefly two: deliver up your Sharpe's rifles, that awful goblin of the Missourians, and obey the law. The former demand was firmly refused with an appeal to the right of every American to bear arms, a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. As to the law, they were ready now, and always had been, to obey it; they would even assist the Sheriff in executing his writ against the rescuers, but he must not bring with him that drunken horde of Missouri borderers as his posse, thus exposing their town to murder and rapine. As to the rescuers, it was shown that they were publicly warned to leave Lawrence, which they did at once, and had not been seen since.

Shannon felt these facts and arguments to be irresistible; he had even called the Missourians, whom he had now seen with his own eyes, "a pack of hyenas." Evidently he undergoes a kind of conversion there in Lawrence. Henceforth his sole object is to bring about the withdrawal of the Wakerusa warriors. This must be done with great tact, else there might be an explosion. Atchison, the Missouri Senator, who

was present with his clan, aided the Governor in this work, saying, "The position of General Robinson is impregnable; his tactics have given him all the advantage as to the cause of quarrel." Atchison also saw the national import of the conflict: "If you attack Lawrence now," says he to his disgusted comrades, "you would cause the election of an abolition President (in 1856) and the ruin of the Democratic party."

A truce was patched up and the disgruntled Missourians set out for home with the Governor's words ringing in their ears that "he had not called upon persons resident of any other State to aid in the execution of the laws," and plainly intimating that they were present without authority. Such statements were not pleasant to Sheriff Jones who had invoked their help, and he vowed that he would wreak vengeance yet upon the accursed town. Not an idle threat, but an outlook on the future, whereof time will furnish the confirmation. Jones knew somewhat of the inner workings of this Kansas business, and was well aware of his own power at the center in Washington, being Democratic post-master of Westport, conveniently situated on the border. But Shannon is clearly going the way of Reeder whose career and fate he so ardently thought to shun. One-sided he began, intensely so; but now he knows the other side, and has treated it with some degree of fairness if not of

sympathy. He can never more be what he was at the start; he has experienced a change of heart which totally unfits him, under the present administration, for the Governorship of Kansas. He can no longer be the pliant tool of the Missourians and he is a doomed man—a fact which Sheriff Jones seems to prognosticate, as he and his cohorts sullenly retire from their exploits on the Wakerusa, still vowing revenge in the future.

But Lawrence is safe and has won a victory without blood. The Sharpe's rifles were not given up, the Topeka Constitution was not renounced, the anti-government was not surrendered. Robinson had shown himself a strategist of the first rank. The citizens gave themselves up to rejoicings, of course with a great overflow of speeches. Only one of these struck a discordant note. A long lank form mounted a store-box and began to denounce a compromise which sullied a great cause from fear of bloodshed. He was soon pulled down from his perch by the jubilating crowd, and compelled to bide his time for a fairer opportunity. Who was it? Old John Brown: he had recently arrived in the Territory and had uttered there his first word, truly prophetic of his coming career.

### III.

Most of our information about early Kansas



comes from New Englanders, who do not fail to give full validity to their side and section. Mrs. Sara Robinson, wife of the Governor, heads the procession with recounting the trials of the early settlers in a very readable book, which helped the cause and gave her a name — a name which, by ardent admirers, was paralleled with that of Mrs. Stowe, and which put her prominently into the considerable list of Puritan women who have set down in writing their experiences, inner and outer. And the Governor himself, though supremely a man of action, has left us an account of his stewardship in a book valuable for its facts, but from a literary point of view not so good as his wife's. And Eli Thayer, the great organizer of talk who disparaged talk, has very acceptably talked to posterity about his Kansas achievement in a printed volume. These we may deem the leaders in the procession of writers on Kansas, followed by many others vociferating with all their might to catch the public ear.

Naturally we begin to ask for the report of the opposite side, in the interest of fair play. Let us now hear from the Missourians, if they have anything else besides that border yell for our instruction. But alas! they have no voice of the literary kind; on the whole, they do not write or read writing; it is said that the majority could hardly read the printed page. So we have

to take the account of them and their deeds from the pens of their enemies. Still of their general purpose no doubt can exist: they intended to make Kansas a Slave-State, and thereby perpetuate a Union Slave-State producing. We have, therefore, to regard them as the protagonists of the Southern Oligarchy, which is making a desperate effort to keep its power, that of a minority, over the majority of the United States, the prize for which they grasp being one more Slave-State.

No doubt it was a barbarous time and used a good deal of barbarous English, which the dignified Muse of History makes a wry face at in spite of her dignity. Barbarians will use barbarisms and a barbarous time finds its corresponding expression in a barbarous dialect. Shocking it is to say the rude things of the Borderers in the presence of the Muse so daintily trained in these days at the University.

Still we would like to catch some glimpse of the leaders of the Missouri movement speaking in their own right, and not through the lips of their Yankee antagonists. The best that we can do is to glean a few shreds of their speeches which have been preserved chiefly by Robinson in his book (*The Kansas Conflict*), and which were originally printed in the border newspapers. Atchison, Senator from Missouri and Vice-President of the United States after the death

of W. R. King, seems to have been the chief actor and spokesman in these forays. Here is a report of one of his utterances: "He was for meeting these philanthropic knaves *peaceably* at the ballot-box, and out-voting them. If we cannot do this, it is an omen that the institution of slavery must fall in this and other Southern States, but it would fall after much strife, civil war, and bloodshed." Such was Atchison's ensanguined vaticination of the coming struggle, very true, but possible to be made void according to him by out-voting the Kansas Free-State men through fraud. Yet this was just the way which brought on the bloody conflict. Note, too, the peculiar consciousness here: if we can only seize the forms of the law, the right is of no great consequence.

Atchison always claimed that his method was "pacific," and he "would not punish a man who merely entertained abstract opinions," even about slavery. On the other hand Stringfellow, the second leading chieftain, seems to have been the fire-eater, radical in his violence, quite to the point of disregarding the Executive: "What right has Governor Reeder," he exclaims, "to rule Missourians in Kansas!" He scores "those who have qualms as to violating laws, State and National," and his advice is "to vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver, in defiance of Reeder and his Myrmidons." So the

two leaders, Atchison and Stringfellow, are evidently of an opposite cast, though both agree that Missourians must vote in Kansas, and make it a Slave-State. But the one says "peaceably," while the other vociferates "at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver." Thus we catch notes of discord among the invaders; evidently they have a radical and a conservative set also, and manifest differences of character and opinion, such as we see in the Free-State ranks. It is a phenomenon which repeatedly recurs: the anti-slavery extremist and the pro-slavery extremist reach, even if by opposite roads, the same camp of Disunion. Yancey could well have subscribed to Garrison's view of the Constitution as "an agreement with hell, and a covenant with death."

Stringfellow exhorts: "mark every scoundrel among you that is in the least tainted with free-soilism, and exterminate him." This has the true ring of the inquisition into private beliefs. On the other hand Atchison would not punish a man "for abstract opinions," as long as he does not attempt to carry them out. Such is the difference between the leaders, the one in his way is institutional, the other revolutionary; they are, as it were, inverted counterparts of what may be seen at Lawrence represented in Charles Robinson on the one hand and John Brown on the other, the latter being in this

regard Stringfellow abolitionized. No Mephistopheles, corresponding to Lane, appears among the Missourians, unless they all be of his spawn.

From Atchison, who had a genuine prophetic strain in his brooding soul, must be cited another utterance which a patient historian (Rhodes, *Hist. U. S.*, II., p. 100) has dug up from the vast mounds of the buried newspaperdom of the past: "If Kansas is abolitionized, Missouri ceases to be a Slave-State, New Mexico becomes a Free-State, but if we secure Kansas as a Slave-State, Missouri is secure; New Mexico and Southern California, if not all of it, becomes a Slave-State; in a word the prosperity or ruin of the whole South depends on the Kansas struggle."

This is a very suggestive prophecy, full of far-reaching presentiment which really anticipates the doom of slavery. For Kansas is plainly not going to be a Slave-State even through violence; not only will Missouri be lost, but "the ruin of the whole South" is impending, on account of this Kansas struggle. Atchison, however, seems to think that he can block the wheels of Civilization, if he can somehow steal the legal forms of government from the people of Kansas. But he is taking just the right way for driving slavery not merely out of Kansas and the Territories, but out of the United States, out of America, and finally out of the World.



For it is becoming manifest that the World-Spirit has decreed another way for training the backward peoples and races into civilization. Hitherto they have all passed through a period of slavery; every country in Europe has had it in some form, but has thrown it off. This was not so difficult, since the slaves were chiefly of the same race, often of the same nationality. But now the racial difference enters with its problem; the skin, nose, eye, hair, the whole physique proclaims the slave. Still he also is to be set free, and another way besides that of slavery is to be taken in order to civilize him and to make him capable of free institutions. The pedagogical way we may call it; the backward man is to be sent to school and is to be educated by the civilized man, who is to impart to his less advanced brother his own institutional freedom as his greatest boon. In fact the World-Spirit has always kept a school for the nations, though more or less veiled; but now it has become unveiled, explicit, acknowledged. And education in such a school is not so much academic as institutional.

#### IV.

While the Missourians of the border were lying in camp along the Wakerusa, the Thirty-fourth Congress met at Washington, the center, December, 1855. The President and the Senate

were unchanged politically, but the new House of Representatives was the product of the elections of 1854 which showed in the North a strong reaction against the Kansas-Nebraska legislation. That year (1854) had been remarkable for a general dissolution of the old political parties, and the various attempts to unite the floating fragments into new organizations. It was evident that a spirit was at work in the people, which showed them deeply dissatisfied with existing conditions. This spirit had been first roused by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, it had been kept active and indeed irritated by the First Invasion of Kansas, and now it was going through another paroxysm on account of the Second Invasion.

Such was the public feeling when the national representatives met and tried to organize the House by the election of a Speaker. At once all the diverse, refractory elements of the time began to show themselves. The members could not be classified on former political lines; they truly represented, that is, imaged the state of the people. The House began seething like Kansas, which had transferred its conflict to the Capitol, and thrown it into a kind of Wakerusa War.

Since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise a strong dissolving process had been going on in the country. The Democratic, Whig, and even Free-Soil parties showed more or less disintegra-

tion. Temperance entered politics, bands of women began to make crusades against saloons and destroy liquor. But the most peculiar manifestation of the great break-up was the sudden rise and success of the so-called Know-nothing party, followed by an equally sudden decline and evanishment. It was directed against the foreigner, and especially against the influence of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. It also declared hostility to German free-thinking and French infidelity. Its main doctrine was summarized in the pithy statement: "Americans should rule America." In so far as the Know-nothing party directed attention to the defects of the naturalization laws, and to the fraud and demagoguery connected with the suffrage of the foreign-born element, it did good. But in principle it was thoroughly un-American, though it called itself the American party. Its members discredited their own ancestors who, not so many years before, had been immigrants. It ignored the great missionary function of the United States for the uplifting and enfranchising of the people of the old world who would come to our shores. Its method was even more un-American than its principle. It was a secret, oath-bound political association with grips, degrees, signs, and pass-words. It was more Jesuitical than the Jesuits. Publicity, the great American corrective of public ills, it shunned and took the way

of conspirators under a despotic government. The fact is suggestive that the chief men of all parties, anti-slavery and pro-slavery, Whig and Democratic, soon came to denounce it. The bloom of it hardly lasted a year; it too was rent in twain by the great coming question, both sides of which it sought to embody. Know-nothingism was hardly more than a transitional humor of the people in passing from an old to a new party. It was a caprice, a comic contradiction of the Folk-Soul, which, being soon recognized, passed off with a laugh. We may call it a comic interlude in the present great drama, for the very name of the party was a joke and productive of jokes everywhere. There was a stream of mystery in it which diverted the people like the trick of a juggler, particularly at a time when their minds were at sea, and puzzling over what ought to be done next.

Now the people in this mood had elected a national House of Representatives, which is the aforementioned body holding its first session at Washington and trying to elect a Speaker. Politically it was a chaotic mass of Know-nothings, Democrats, Whigs, all of whom were still further divided into anti-slavery and pro-slavery factions. Besides there were a few members already called Republicans. It was soon seen that the old party divisions were vanishing into a new division, which ran a line of battle

through the entire membership on the question: For or against the Kansas-Nebraska bill? Thus the Kansas conflict had entered and was aligning the two sides of the House. The Wakerusa affair occurring contemporaneously and bringing new and exciting incidents all the while, wrought powerfully upon the House in its present fluctuating condition. Many candidates for Speaker—and in the Speaker's election lay the test—were taken up and then dropped. For nearly two months the hurly-burly balloting lasted, till on the one-hundred and thirty-third ballot Banks of Massachusetts was chosen. He had been elected to Congress as a Know-nothing, but that issue had dropped out totally, since the ground of his success lay in his statement that he favored the restoration of Missouri Compromise line of 1820, and that Congress should exclude slavery from Territories. Entirely visible does the new alignment of parties become in the first victory at the Capital. The Republican Party has now distinctly risen out of its local into its national career. It had already started at several points in the West sporadically; but here it is, springing up in the heart of the Nation. Passing from the center to the border we chronicle a similar victory. The Missouri invaders, completely baffled by Robinson's strategy, had returned to their homes for the winter.

The new Party has then actually appeared on



the floor of the House of Representatives, having gone to the East from the West and nationalized itself at Washington. But where is its great leader? Local leaders it has in abundance, training for the struggle — but a towering national leader? All were soon turning their eyes toward Seward as the supreme man, crying out, Here we are ready, lead us. But Seward hung fire. The hesitation lay partly in his own nature, and will rise up against him hereafter, but also partly in the political condition of the State of New York, which could not move as freely as the Western States. Chase, next to Seward in importance, was precluded from the national leadership of his Party by certain limitations of character as well by reasons of political expediency. Sumner, the brilliant rhetorician of the rising Party, could hardly be called a statesman, and had no gift of great leadership of the people, since his speeches often left many in doubt whether or not he was thoroughly an institutional man, whether or not his anti-slaveryism did not outweigh and even jeopard his constitutionalism. At last in the fall campaign of New York Seward spoke and sounded the key-note of the new Party. But already in the fall of 1854, a year before Seward, the future leader of the Party, then quite unknown outside of his State, Abraham Lincoln, had arisen and had outlined in strong terse expressions the leading doctrines

of the new organization. Moreover he appeared in oratorical combat with his great competitor Douglas, whom four years later he will meet again in a contest larger than national, so large that we must call it world-historical. But the time is not ready, and perhaps he is not ready, for entering upon the great coming task. After having had two public tournaments, he and Douglas, at the request of the latter, agree to speak no more during the campaign. But his speech at Peoria (Oct. 16th, 1854) written out by him and printed in the *Illinois State Journal*, became the chief political document of the Party in the North-West, and prepared the way for Lincoln's leadership. Did Seward ever read Lincoln's speech? In the absence of direct testimony, who can tell? But one thing is certain: the coming Party had started in the West with its lines laid down and with its leader at the head a year before Seward waked up in the East. Thus Lincoln was getting his new house ready, while Seward was still debating whether he would stay in the old Whig house or move into the new one. As these two men are hereafter to be rivals for Republican leadership, we must consider the record of both.

The great Democratic statesman of the North, Douglas, stands in a peculiar intermediate relation to the rising Party through his doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. He might

have stepped forward and become its leader; but he stood still, or perchance stepped backward. As already indicated, he lost his first great opportunity of making himself the representative of the Spirit of the Age by not putting himself at the head of the Kansas Free-State men. The invaders violated Popular Sovereignty, his special principle. A decided majority of the men who made the Topeka Constitution were Douglas Democrats, though their leader at first had no good word for them. Douglas bitterly assailed the Emigrant Aid Society, yet its whole policy was to settle slavery in Kansas by vote of the people. Eli Thayer, its founder, in his speeches planted himself squarely on Popular Sovereignty, and asked nothing better than a fair chance through an honest ballot. But Douglas ignored his true supporters at the North, and thought that he must still bid for Southern assistance in the coming Presidential Convention (1856).

## V.

In Kansas we may still see the Missouri borderers who took part in the Second Invasion, wending their weary way homeward in an ugly mood. Baffled, humiliated, but more revengeful than ever, they are already planning some new method of catching and destroying that elusive and even tricky spirit which has so decidedly

foiled them. But how can the thing be done? Evidently the Free-State leaders who have shown themselves such consummate strategists, must be gotten hold of in some way, and then leaderless Lawrence can be destroyed. Particularly Robinson, whom Atchison acknowledges to have completely out-maneuvered the Missourians, including himself, has to be reached, lest "his tactics" again give him "all the advantage as to the cause of the quarrel." Such was the problem haunting the Missourians as they crossed the border in their backward march.

The fact is, the anti-government with its shadowy existence but very real power perplexed those dazed Missouri champions. And there was some mystery, soul-harassing, in its subtle operation. For we Missourians have the actual government, plain and palpable, in the Territorial Legislature and in the United States officials with Washington at their back; and yet it shows itself wholly insubstantial compared with that phantom government which the arch-magician Robinson has conjured up and made appear as a very substantial reality for rallying and inspiring the Free-State men. How can we catch, and then stab or shoot that spectral shape which centers the opposition to our authority?

Impossible is such a task; being a spirit, it cannot well be reached by bowie-knife or bullet, but has a strange power of employing and direct-

ing weapons on its own behalf. For the anti-government represents the spirit of Law, though now deprived of its body. Wrong having become formally legal, Right rises up as its ghostly counterpart, though formally illegal, and makes the anti-government. Thus a phantom government which is the reality, the truth, marches forth in open daylight, and grapples with a real government which is a phantom, a fraud. No such encounter has hardly happened among mortals since that ancient combat on the plains of Troy when the Greeks and Trojans fought around the image of a hero in their midst when he himself had been borne elsewhere by the aid of the favoring Goddess. And now we may see the valiant Kansans fighting around and for a shadow which is real, against a reality which is a shadow. And on the other side the embattled Missourians are hurrying over the border with a grandiose display of war to defend a reality which is but a shadow, against a shadow which is the reality. Such is the mixture of ghosts and corporalities along that Kansas-Missouri line, a veritable seesaw lasting for years between Spirit and Form, or Soul and Body: the dis-embodied Soul trying heroically to get possession of its own Body, and the dis-souled Body trying to lay or even kill its own haunting and tormenting Soul.

Thus the Missourians and the Kansans keep up an ever-recurring contest out there on the



border: the one being wholly unable to get or even to get at the other's Soul, and the other in turn being equally unable to get or get into the one's Body, till at last on a day the hour of redemption strikes and the straying Soul (of Right) slips into its bodily counterpart (the Law) and becomes incorporate. Whereof the account is given in a future chapter.

But this happy consummation cannot yet be, the grand Kansas discipline of Soul-wandering is still to continue. A cunning scheme is hatched to rob the Free-State men of their leaders, through a new device of the legal machine which has been so successfully made to work injustice in the name of justice. Then the wolves having banned the shepherds can easily take possession of the flock and wreak their savagery upon it in a fresh invasion of Kansas.

## The Third Invasion.

The winter of 1855-6 in Kansas seemed to sympathize with the invaders by inflicting hardship and suffering upon the ill-housed and ill-prepared settlers. Mrs. Robinson, a daughter of New England and used to icy blasts, expressed herself thus: "To face a Missouri mob is nothing to facing these winds which sweep over the prairies." External nature environing man appeared to pre-figure his social condition and even his mental tumult. It is indeed a Perverted World without and within; the violators of Law are its executors, the innocent are the victims, the unjust not only escape but have all the instrumentalities of justice in their power, perverting them to the purpose of injustice. The Judiciary is now to be dragged into conflict, and brought to employ the form of legality for slaying its soul.

The pitiless winter did not wholly stop activity on either side. Robinson wrote in January, 1856, that he had knowledge of extensive preparations in Missouri for the destruction of Lawrence and all the Free-State settlements. He sent his information to the President, to Congress, but especially to the Governors of the Northern States, nearly all of whom were now

sympathetic with the Free-State aspiration of Kansas. Six men went East to buy munitions of war and to raise an army "for the defense of Kansas and the Union." In the spring when the weather had removed its ban, a stream of emigrants from the North began again to flow across the border and spread out over the plains of Kansas, each one taking his place with gun in hand somewhere in that longitudinal line of farms erected as a barrier against Missouri and the South.

But Missouri and the South were not idle. Bands of men from the Southern States began to come, the largest and most notable of which was organized in South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, by Colonel Buford, consisting of 280 people whom we shall soon find among the invaders. Both sections, North and South, were openly preparing for the contest. Still Robinson hoped and believed that he "could conquer without bloodshed" if his suggestions were acted upon in the Northern States. His strategy had once made the invaders face about and take the back track into Missouri. He thought he could perform the same maneuver again with success and avoid war.

But a blow now descended upon him and his party from a source which he apparently did not take into account. The pro-slavery officials concocted a scheme of getting rid of the Free-State

leaders who had so often baffled them. They utilized for this purpose the Judiciary of the Territory whose Chief Justice, Lecompte, has won the distinction of being called the second Jeffries. He instructed the grand jury that those who resisted the Territorial Legislature were guilty of treason against the United States and were to be proceeded against by law. This was a blow aimed at the entire Topeka movement, and the anti-government of Robinson. The grand jury indicted at once Robinson, Lane, and Reeder, with other prominent Free-State men, for treason. The same grand jury declared two newspapers of Lawrence and its Free-State Hotel to be public nuisances and recommended their abatement. In this way the Federal Marshal was brought into the contest, and opposition meant resistance to the United States. The result is that Lane decamps secretly, Reeder escapes from the Territory in disguise after thrilling adventures, and Robinson is captured on his way to the East at Lexington, Missouri, and is brought back the captive of his foes to Kansas for trial. The work of Lecompte succeeded in making the Free-State men leaderless and hence helpless.

This was the opportunity for a new move against Lawrence, which, being without a head, can now be beheaded by the chivalrous borderers. There must be a pretext for the attack,

and this pretext Sheriff Jones was to furnish. He went to the town for the purpose of arresting Wood, one of the chief rescuers of Branson. He was foiled in the attempt, and then tried his hand on others, one of whom gave him a stinging slap in the face. That was enough. He demanded of the Governor a detachment of Federal soldiers to assist him in executing his writs. He succeeded in heating the enmity of the Free-State community to the boiling point; during the excitement a frenzied youth shot him in the back, the wound not being very serious. Soon the news flew up and down the Missouri border that Sheriff Jones had been killed at Lawrence, rousing an intense feeling of vengeance against the hated town. But the citizens of Lawrence, in town meeting assembled, disowned the act, and offered five hundred dollars reward for the apprehension of the culprit.

At this juncture the United States Marshal, Donaldson, comes upon the stage to play his part. He summons a posse to arrest the traitors of Lawrence, and to abate the condemned nuisances. This was the golden opportunity, and again the Missourians responded, making their third armed Invasion of Kansas. Lawrence, leaderless and utterly paralyzed, offered no resistance and yielded every point with a prayer for mercy. Some of the citizens charged with



treason were arrested, and the printing-presses were thrown into the river.

The final act, however, was still to come. A crier announces: Marshal Donaldson is done with you, Sheriff Jones now summons you for his posse, as he has something for you to do. Here was the pivot of the whole scheme, evidently gotten up by the Marshal and the Sheriff together. Jones had attained the long-sought end of wreaking vengeance upon Lawrence. The Free-State Hotel, already dismantled, was bombarded and blown up, and then the torch was applied to the ruins. Stores were rifled, houses were pillaged, the residence of Governor Robinson was given to the flames. In fine the town was gutted, but the people were left; the threats to exterminate the Free-State men were not yet carried out. Such was the deed known in History as the Sack of Lawrence, the outcome of the Third Invasion.

But the victory had a number of consequences which wrought worse than defeat. It introduced dissension into the ranks of the invaders. Two Colonels from the distant South openly disapproved of the conduct and work of the malignant Jones. Atchison was again present and exerted himself to restrain the outrages, "riding on horseback to the different companies and making speeches in the interest of peace." But Jones was their hero and they followed him. Governor Shannon condemned the Marshal's posse,

so did President Pierce, doubtless beholding in his mind's eye the Democratic Convention ready to meet. Even Judge Lecompte thought that Donaldson's action was illegal. It was evident that the invaders were breaking loose from the control of their leaders, and that this Missouri plan of making Kansas a Slave-State must be abandoned. All the higher officials disclaimed the deed of violence, which seems to have been concocted by the Marshal and Sheriff in secret concert. The Topeka Legislature met not long after these events, but it was dispersed by United States soldiers — which act, however, was disapproved even by the Administration at Washington.

What now has become of Robinson's anti-government with its machinery broken, its capital sacked, its leader a prisoner of his foes? Strange to say, it has won a victory more complete than ever before. The principle of these Missouri invasions is now seen in its true character and purpose, and is discredited, temporarily at least, even by the Administration. Though another invasion takes place, it will be turned back and thwarted by the great United States Government itself instead of the little outlawed anti-government, and a real Governor, Geary, will do the work of the shadowy Governor, Robinson, now more shadowy than ever in the prison of his enemies.

But the chief effect and the great historic purpose of the Sack of Lawrence was the mighty response of the Northern Folk-Soul to the woes of Kansas, which kept agitating it, and working it over and kneading it through and through with a new conviction that not only Kansas must be a Free-State, but that there must be no more Slave-States in this Union. A little over a year has passed since the First Invasion, and now the Third has spent itself, bringing results freighted with the future. We may deem it the first year of the Ten Years' War which is the theme of the present book. We have seen the irritation going forth continuously from Washington, followed by the agonies of Kansas, which, echoing from press, pulpit and platform, have been the school of the North preparing it for the great task looming up ever more distinctly in the future.

And that small town of Lawrence — what a burden has been laid upon it by the time, by the Spirit of the Age, which seems to have chosen and trained it as the bearer of the conflict ever getting more visible. It was born in a war of titles; the very land was contested; when the Northern settler would begin to work upon his property, a Missouri counter-claim would be sure to appear. Thus the soil, after it was bought and cultivated, had to be won anew and freed from the foreign invader. But the greater, universal task was the institutional one: to

secure the Free-State. Of this task Lawrence was the very soul as well as the most energetic performer; no wonder that the enemy thought that if they could destroy her, the cause itself would be destroyed. Truly Lawrence during this period was the World-Spirit incarnate, the little town had in it the presence of History, yea of Universal History, at whose behest she seemed to be moving and suffering.

But tell us, ye Powers, will there be no requital for these deeds of violence? Lies it not in the Divine Order that the Missouri towns and counties which have sent forth and maintained these men of wrong, will see an invasion coming the other way? Wait; a little more than half a decade will pass when the Kansas borderers, trained by these acts to rapine and murder, and burning for revenge, will feel that their turn has come and will be let loose upon the Missouri side, sweeping down upon it under the command of the Devil himself called up from Inferno by these iniquities — Mephistopheles Lane — in whose path the site of thriving villages will be marked by charred ruins and a few standing chimneys in the desert.

Still further we may carry our outlook in this matter. Among these invaders we hear of contingents from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, which States seem to lie far away from the scene of danger, quite out of the reach of

retribution. But Nemesis has long arms, and can stretch them, given her time, to any point on this terraqueous globe. Not a decade will pass before Sherman will be in Georgia at the head of an irresistible army which rips open the State from North-West to South-East, and then passes to South Carolina which also is to get a taste of the return of the deed upon the doer. Thus we again behold an interlinking of the beginning and end of the Ten Years' War, in a circling chain of events; there is an inner connection between the first invasion of Kansas and the last counter-invasion of the South by Sherman. A great national house-cleaning has started on the Western border, not to be held up till every Slave-State, new and old, has been wiped out and made over into a Free-State. But just now what a trouble in getting Kansas free, that small first link in the great chain of the total War!

Another result of the Sack of Lawrence may be here noted. John Brown has already been observed making a protest against the Wake-rusa peace. Deeming himself the divine instrument of vengeance, he has gone forth to begin his own war against slavery. According to Brown's reckoning five Free-State men had been murdered in his locality; God's justice demands five victims of the opposite party. The result is the Pottawatomie massacre of five Slave-State men at the hands of Brown and his



confederates. Such was the bloody deed of personal retaliation begotten and nursed by these Missouri invasions in the half-crazed soul of a religious fanatic, the sanguinary prelude of John Brown's coming drama.

Only too plain is the fact that the Furies of the godless Deed are now born on the Kansas-Missouri border, rearing and hissing in vengeful wrath which is involving the innocent with the wrong-doer in a common fate. Ancient Aeschylus, evoking his dreadful Erinyes from the abysses of the guilty soul, would himself stand aghast at the spectacle of retribution now enacting and still more bloodily to be enacted in this Ten Years' War. Already over the Sack of Lawrence every eye can see the face of Nemesis with a dark frown of vengeance turned toward the source of this deed of wrong and getting ready to pursue its perpetrators to their own hearthstones, which will be reddened by the heart-drops of the just and the unjust in that day of wrathful requital.

But now we may well divert our look elsewhere. Overlapping these Kansas events a Presidential year has arrived, giving very distinctly a new turn to affairs, through the election of a new Chief Magistrate by the People. This furnishes a fresh opportunity for observing the throbbing occurrences of another annual cycle, and for seeking to find their historic process.

## CHAPTER II. THE PRESIDENTIAL YEAR. (1856-7.)

The Kansas War has lasted hardly more than a year, but it has ushered in a new era. It has brought home to the American Folk-Soul the supreme question of the time, which must be settled before anything else can be seriously thought of. The old Union, half slave and half free, is to be voted on by the entire Nation, consciously for the first time. Is it ready? Does it hear with distinctness the behest of the World-Spirit? Or must there be longer waiting and more discipline? This is the issue which we may now watch winding through the political events of the present year and catch the answer in the outcome. More particularly we may ask, Is Kansas to get relief, or is there to be more torture? Her animated longitudinal farm-wall, embanked against the Missouri line, is still held and guarded with vigilance and valor.

But is this Border War to continue? Let us hear the response of the American electorate which has now the cause before its tribunal for decision.

In 1856, an election for President was to take place, which event would determine whether the central authority of the Federal Union was to favor the creation of the Free-State or of the Slave-State out of Kansas specially, and out of all the Territories generally. The principle of the single conflict on the border with its two sides was rapidly making itself universal, involving all the States and dividing them into Northern and Southern by a line, or rather by a chasm growing deeper and deeper, which ran from Kansas to the Atlantic. The line existed before, even from the adoption of the Constitution, but now it has become a foreshadowed battle line along which the contending forces may be seen in the mind's eye to be gathering for the onset.

The occurrences of this year are somewhat complicated, for the whole country is seething and struggling with its problem, which is perpetually shifting about and taking unexpected shapes. How can we catch and fix the underlying movement of all this hurly-burly? Undoubtedly the Presidency is the central determining point round which everything turns. Hitherto in the Kansas conflict we have had mainly to fix our eye upon

two leading elements: the government at Washington and the strife on the border, the one being at the center and the other on the circumference. But now the whole area of the country lying between center and circumference has the stress, and is swept into the whirl of the conflict by having to elect a President. So we must take into account three main elements each of which has its own movement, while they all unite in forming one great movement characteristic of the Presidential year.

The most significant and lasting event of the present fermentation is that a new party is shaping itself out of the ruins of previous parties, such as the Whig and Know-Nothing, with many a boulder breaking off and floating in from the still living and lively Democratic party. On the 22nd of February a convention containing delegates from twenty-three States assembled at Pittsburgh and demanded in their resolutions "the repeal of all laws which allow the introduction of slavery into the territories once consecrated to freedom, and furthermore we demand the immediate admission of Kansas as a free and independent State." Very distinctly is now the Republican party born and endowed with a national activity, being called upon to send delegates later (June 17th) to Philadelphia for nominating a candidate for the Presidency. This party has already given many a sign of itself sporadically,

so that its origin is variously timed and located. At Pittsburg, however, it leaps into the arena fully panoplied with its principles. It has a great destiny before it, probably greater than that of any other political party, since it is to fight the battle for the Union and win it, and to destroy slavery not only in Kansas but in every other State of the Union, new and old, giving it a mortal blow in both the Americas and seemingly for all futurity. Quite unconscious of any such far-extending destiny at present, it will simply insist upon the Federal Union being hereafter the mother of Free-States only, without disturbing slavery where it already exists. And after fifty stormy years this party still lives and works with its hand upon the helm of State, grappling with vast new problems and duties. Even its enemies will hardly fail to look upon it with some degree of admiration, wondering what has given to it such a perdurable vitality and governing power.

The three elements already mentioned — Washington (the center), Kansas (the border), and the entire Country lying between center and border — are in a process together, in a perpetual whirl of agitation. The irritating cause has its seat in Washington, being the Administration of President Pierce, which not only supports but secretly encourages the invasion of the Missourians in the interest of slavery. Then Kan-



sas being struck, wronged, violated in its tenderest part, would give one of her piercing shrieks, which, being re-echoed and reduplicated tenfold from that line of sounding-boards great and small, the newspaper press with its reverberator in every village of the North, would send a thrill of sympathetic horror through all hearts from East to West. Thus the round kept going, wave after wave, till the whole People were brought to share in the Kansas-pain and began to cry out for relief, which they did not and could not get. For these Free-State men, as already observed, had a voice which bore their wrongs and sufferings on the wind, and repeated them in every hamlet.

It is no wonder that the people of the North, tortured with their own sympathy and shocked in their feeling of right, began to propound the question: Can we not transform that Washington center of perpetual irritation, and let these Kansas people finish in peace building their State? More pressing does the question become, since the Presidential year has arrived, and the Convention for nominating the candidate draws near. Such is, then, the task of the time: to get possession of the source of the trouble and to make it over, if possible, into a fountain of healing.

The nominating Conventions of the two parties may be regarded as the culmination of

the year. Hence we shall first look at the swirl of events leading up to them, and then following after them till the election is over. In other words the events of the year move in two main processes separated by the Conventions. Thus we see each side first putting itself into trim for the contest, and then the contest between the two sides. When this is over, we may well take a look backward and also forward, to see if we can measure the work which the Genius of History has accomplished.

## Presidential Nominations.

It had become the conviction of the North that the Washington Administration was the generating cause of the disorders in Kansas, inasmuch as this was determined not to be a Slave-State. Hence arose the movement of the Northern people to reach the seat of the malady by changing the central Administration, for which the opportunity is now at hand. But there was also the counter movement of those in power for keeping their grasp on the government. Thus the two Parties, Republican and Democratic, begin their preliminary maneuvers for the coming appeal to the final tribunal of the land, the People.

Amid all sorts of eddies, currents and counter-currents, the one fundamental historic movement can again be seen embracing all the diversities of the turbulent stream of events. We shall still follow the round which starts from Washington, passes to Kansas, then returns upon the People.

Both parties began to show certain changes of conduct in anticipation of the approaching contest before the People. Particularly among the Democratic leaders a new adjustment was noticeable. Pierce was a candidate for re-election. As he had favored the South, he looked

to that section for his chief support in the approaching Convention. Still the South alone could not nominate him, so he had to conciliate a part of the North also. Another candidate was Douglas who had made his great bid for Southern support in his Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise, which, however, had lost the North to the Democratic Party in the Congressional election. The hostile House of Representatives was already in session at the beginning of 1856 and was balloting for Speaker. Banks, a Republican, was finally elected, and a new source of antagonism had to be reckoned with by the Administration.

The first round of events we shall summarize as follows: —

1. *Washington.* The President in his communication to Congress takes the Southern side in reference to slavery generally, and in reference to Kansas specially. He blames the Emigrant Aid Societies for the troubles on the border, though he faintly censures “the illegal and reprehensible counter-movements” of the Missourians. But when he comes to the main issue, he asserts the legality of the Territorial Legislature, as its members had Reeder’s certificates of election, while the Topeka Constitutional Convention was wholly without the warrant of law. And yet the former was a fraud, and the latter was an expression of the will of the People.

Thus the President in the interest of slavery turns the formal law against right and uses established authority to destroy its own original fountain-head. Douglas took substantially the same position, assailing the Emigrant Aid Society, and championing the side of legality against equity, of a wrong which was formally legal against a right which was formally illegal. Surely it is the duty of the legislator to reconcile such a contradiction when it has arisen.

As a new party was appearing and organizing itself, many speeches were made at this time, which was felt to be epoch-making. Particularly the Republican Senators gave expression to the dawning idea and its conflict in well-phrased turns which were printed in the great journals of the North and distributed far and wide. This expression was the counterpart to that of Kansas with its cry of pain, appealing more to the reason than to the emotions. The formulation of the Republican creed was completed and made universal in the doctrine that in all the Territories Congress is to prohibit slavery. It was a great service and prepared the minds of the people for the coming platform of the Republican Convention. Still this universal doctrine would hardly have found such a strong response in the hearts of the People, unless a particular and soul-harrowing illustration of it had been brought daily before their eyes through Kansas.



The most famous of all these speeches was that of Sumner entitled the "Crime against Kansas." It was a furious, at times frenzied tirade, though carefully written out beforehand and committed to memory. Most readers to-day will condemn both its spirit and style; it is the work of a rhetor rather than of an orator, and sounds more like a rhetorical exercise of the later Greco-Roman schools than a Demosthenic philippic. But wonderful was its power over young heads; in this field lay its influence which its very extravagance increased. But its chief fame springs from the fact that it provoked the brutal assault of Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, who thus made himself the counterpart of the Missouri border-ruffian at Washington. The parallel to Kansas came home mightily to all, and was recognized at once both in the North and South, in the one case for reprobation, in the other for glorification. The Missouri border was transferred to Washington, to the very Capitol, and the armed Southerner smote the unarmed though stronger Northerner, as the latter sat at his desk occupied in writing. Moreover there was the same alignment of the sections, the North taking sides with the stricken man, and the South on the whole approving and making the act its own. Of course that huge sounding-board was again set in operation, and the whole North "from the ice-bound coast of

Maine to the golden gate of California" was made to shiver in sympathetic throes begetting horror and anger and the deeper passion of revenge.

Already we have spoken of the means of intercommunication extending through all parts of the North and constituting a very important element in its present political process. Without the railroads rapidly bringing succor to Kansas, without the telegraph disseminating its news over the land in a day, without the press carrying the words of the leaders to the millions, there could have been no successful conflict for a Free-State along the Missouri border. The instrumentalities of Civilization fought for Civilization. The South had not developed them, and could not develop them in a high degree. It is not too much to say that the railroad, the telegraph and the printing press enlisted as soldiers and fought on the side of free Kansas, giving her at last the victory. They had already unified the North years before the first shot fired at Sumter. Through them the most distant Northern States were closely bound together. Space could not separate where Time was so nearly obliterated.

The Presidential campaign of 1856 pushed these means of intercommunication to the highest intensity then possible; especially did it call forth the powers of the printed word in

book, magazine, but above all, in the newspaper. Though the storehouse of imagery be ransacked, we seek in vain to catch an adequate illustration for this peculiar influence. We may go back to the Homeric Gods and call up Mars who, when hit and wounded before Troy, utters a cry like that of nine or ten thousand men — a divine megaphone. Or let us think of Mercury fleeting over sea and land with the message of the Gods — the Olympian telegraph, or perchance the telephone which is to come after the war. Or passing from classic to more homely comparisons, let us conceive the newspaper press along the North-Atlantic coast as an enormous fog-horn or perchance sounding-board throwing back upon the People and intensifying the deeds of wrong and the cries of agony transmitted to it from Washington and Kansas. Such is the process of reaching and stirring the Folk-Soul in its depths through these most modern instrumentalities, which have the power of associating men living a thousand miles apart, as if they dwelt in the limits of a single city, and listened within the range of the voice of their leader.

Of all these far-sounding fog-horns the greatest and the loudest at this time was Greeley's Republican *Tribune*, set up in New York City. It had a prodigious circulation throughout the Northern States, and became a kind of oracle which the farmer and the villager would consult every

week with longing expectation and with implicit faith. The whole family would read it, husband, wife, and children, with many an interjection of joy or wrath; then it would be passed to the neighbor who would subject it to the same process. Particularly would it be sent to the Democratic neighbor, being used as the vehicle for missionary work in his case. While it might not make him a Republican, it would lead him to question the doings of his party in Kansas. When the breach came, he was ready to side with Douglas against the Administration. Greeley was at this time in the meridian of his powers and of his usefulness. He probably addressed every week half a million of readers, each of whom in most cases became a little center of propagation. His style, his mental horizon, and his political attitude were just suited to the time and his audience. Then he gave the key-note to the thousand smaller newspapers, which echoed and re-echoed his thoughts and his words, till they reached the remotest nooks of the North. The shops, the stores, the street corners of every village became the arena of local disputants who would engage in a political tussle before an interested crowd of spectators.

The South had for the most part no such organs and no such system of reverberators. The South did not read as a people, could not.

Education of the white masses was neglected and of the black masses was not permitted. Of course there were many highly educated men and women in the South. But the modern training of the Folk-Soul through the printed page was not theirs to any great extent; the People still got their political information orally, or did without it. Such was their backward condition in this respect; they depended on the spoken word and the momentary impression given to it by the personality of the speaker. They were not disciplined to read in their privacy the cold type, and weigh the significance of what was thus imparted; they were exposed to the passions excited by the flaming orator without the corrective which comes from the silent perusal of his statements. Hence there is during this period a passionateness in word and act, a thoughtless impulsiveness, a headstrong violence which could not have come upon a nation of readers. They would hear but one side on the slavery question, and that was their own. For this reason many have held and still hold that the South was dragged ignorantly into a conflict by their leaders, who used them as means for ambition.

The assault on Sumner by Brooks introduced a kind of Border War into both Houses of Congress, of which the Senate was Democratic and Southern, and the House of Representatives Re-



publican and Northern, in majority. The Kansas subterfuge again was made to do work. The Southerners in both Houses through the reports of their Committees pleaded a want of jurisdiction, and supported their views with legal technicalities. Legality was put into the saddle and was forced to override justice. Right is illegal or at least powerless, while wrong is legal, or at least powerful. Such seems now to be the method, or indeed the very consciousness of the South.

The House of Representatives gave a majority, but not the requisite two-thirds, for the expulsion of Brooks. He resigned, went home, and was immediately re-elected by his South Carolina district, six votes only being recorded against him. But in eight months after his assault he was dead; in a little over four months more, his uncle, Senator Butler, in vindication of whose honor he had made the assault, passed away. Meanwhile Sumner was slowly recovering. The New England religious world saw in these events the hand of God; from them many a minister took his text for a discourse concerning Divine Judgment wreaked upon the enemies of the Lord's chosen people.

The assault of Brooks made Sumner a greater man than he ever was before or afterwards. It made him the hero of the hour; it reflected the action of the South in Kansas far more effectively than his speech, which was full of bitter taunts

and personalities repugnant to many a reader on his side. Sumner gives the impression of an athlete physically and mentally, vain of his prowess, with his nostrils distended, his hair thrown back, his herculean frame assuming the gladiatorial attitude. He was intrinsically a negative, critical spirit, not a builder, not a statesman, hardly institutional enough to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. Later in his nagging and carping at Lincoln the true character of the man appears as capable of little more than negations. A kind of Roman rhetorical athlete set down upon American soil in a time needing constructive power, he showed almost no response to a vast opportunity for State-building. That he receives conspicuous mention in History to-day, he largely owes to the cane of Brooks, who beat him most cruelly and outrageously into a momentary world-historical prominence.

2. *Kansas*. Passing from the center to the border, we find that the year 1856 produced a more plentiful crop of violence and irritation than ever. It was the time of the Third Invasion, already described. The Judiciary was now dragged into the conflict and the Federal judge, Lecompte, declared the Free-State leaders, Robinson, Reeder, and Lane to be guilty of treason against the United States. This stroke was intended to deprive the Free-State men of guid-

ance, and undo their work through the aid of national troops. The outcome has been already seen in the famous Sack of Lawrence by the pro-slavery borderers acting under the color of law. This took place May 21st, and soon the news started fresh pulsations of horror and wrath through the North. The result was a renewed determination to send men and money to Kansas.

More emigrants began to pour in, coming down through Iowa when their passage through Missouri was stopped. From the East men came in colonies, such as were seen in the early settlement of New England; from the West they emigrated mostly as individuals, relying on their own personal will to meet any emergency. The South likewise sent some settlers, but they were few in comparison. For what slaveholder would take his slaves into a place where they were likely to be lost? Yet what is slavery without slaves? A Southern leader, our notable Stringfellow, called frantically for 2,000 slaves, yet, it is said, not 200 ever entered the Territory. It was then left to the poor white man of the South to fight a battle not his own. Many of them refused when they saw the situation, and became Free-State men, not from love, but rather from hate of the poor darkey, who was to be wholly excluded from this paradisaical white man's land.

But after the Sack of Lawrence a new and

more dreadful element begins to weave itself into the already complicated tangle of Kansas troubles. This was personal retaliation which appeared with all its horror in what is known as the Pottawatomie massacre by John Brown (see preceding p. 90) On May 24th five pro-slavery men were taken from their cabins in the night and murdered. It is now known, though it was for a long time denied, that this was the work of Brown, who through his border experience is getting ready for his national attempt at Harper's Ferry. Thus Kansas seems in this period to be germinal in everything, to be the particular which is to make itself universal everywhere in the Nation.

As far as bloodshed was concerned, the Pottawatomie butchery far surpassed the Sack of Lawrence, where only one person was accidentally killed by a brick falling from the Free-State Hotel, and he was a pro-slavery man. But what a difference in the fame of the two events at the time! It is true that there rose in turn the cry of pain from the pro-slavery settlers, many of whom started back to the Missouri line in a hurry. But these people had no voice echoing through their own land in fearful reduplicated tones; the South possessed no fog-horn on the Atlantic, only at most a little tin horn in comparison, which had small power of reverberation. It must

be confessed too that the Northern fog-horn was arranged solely for catching up and echoing the Free-State shriek of Kansas; it had no organ, yea no heart for throbbing in response to the pro-slavery shout of pain. Even the Republican members of the Congressional Investigating Committee, Howard and Sherman, refused on a technicality to investigate the Pottawatomie Massacre, though they made a very voluminous report on the outrages of the Border Ruffians. So Congressman Oliver, the pro-slavery member of the Committee, investigates on his own account and submits a minority report, which, however, quite lacked the power of awakening any resonance from the press, though it is now recognized to be full of important facts about the awful butchery. For the huge Northern fog-horn is so cunningly adjusted that only Free-State wind can make a noise through it, while the sighs and groans of the other side seem to be swallowed up in the mighty reverberations of the Sack of Lawrence, or produce merely some faint flurry of inarticulate air-waves.

Already we have seen Brown in a protest against the peace made in the Wakerusa affair. Through the study of the Old Testament he had become thoroughly Semitized in mind after the ancient Hebrew pattern; even his face seemed to be of a Semitic cut. With that long beard



of his and lowering features, telling the prophet's world-pain, his picture reminds us of Michel Angelo's Jeremiah.

But now we must pass from these scenes of violence and blood on the border to the People as a whole, and see what effect Kansas has produced upon them. In two Conventions they meet, divided according to party, and give expression to their views in two political platforms, as well as in two nominations for the Presidency. Kansas is really the subject-matter of both Conventions, though looked at from diverse points of view. We observe that the rent on the border between Kansas and Missouri has extended through the whole Union and divided it into two political parties, which are now to declare their principles and test their strength against each other by the peaceful ballot. Clear it is that Kansas has nationalized its conflict in a year.

3. *The Two Conventions.* The Democratic Convention for nominating a Presidential candidate assembled at Cincinnati June 2nd. The delegates had been chosen and many of them were on their way when a double blast, one out of the East and one out of the West, met their ears, with a detonation which must have shaken them to the center. Within a fortnight before the Convention, Sumner had been assaulted and Lawrence had been sacked. The Republican newspaper press of the North was making the

air resound with maledictions upon the Administration and its haughty Southern dictators, and particularly its truckling Northern Democratic supporters. It was clear from the start that no man from the South could be thought of for the Presidency; indeed, the Southerners had for years given up that ambition. Taylor was their last, and he rather turned away from their extreme views. Their present policy was to find a Northerner who would do their bidding. Two such men they had now had, Fillmore and Pierce. Fillmore had completely undone himself in his own section, and was cast aside; the same fate was evidently hanging over Pierce. Douglas also had lost the grand prize of his life through his part in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which was the beginning of all the Kansas woes. Both these Northerners, Pierce and Douglas, had been running a race for Southern support as the chief political boon. Meanwhile both of them lost the support of their own section, which was necessary for an election. Hence the South, for which they had sacrificed so much, threw both of them overboard at Cincinnati. For the Southerners knew that the Northern man who had shown himself most devoted to their cause, was just the person whom they must reject. They had to punish their best friends for such friendship, to scourge devotees with the keenest agony for being devoted. They were and had to

be the very instrument of retribution upon their own followers. They could not help playing the part of Satan in the Universe, who first tempts the sinner, and then inflicts upon him the penalty of sin.

Pierce and Douglas, being human, must have had some such reflections as the foregoing, and have felt the dagger of their own deeds turned back upon them by their own friends. But both suppress their emotions and accept the situation. Particularly Pierce as a harmless sort of a man, did not and could not harbor much retaliation, yet he must have had a little, perchance. Certain it is that he was, after the Convention, not so vigorously Southern in his policy toward Kansas, though this was also dictated by the critical situation of his party in the coming election. But how is it with Douglas, so full of vitality, and so pugnacious, and so capable? He is now well aware that the South will never take him, as its candidate, perchance suspects him for just what he has done in its favor. One may well predict that, if the opportunity presents, he will turn upon it and settle with it for what he deems in his heart to be its treachery, having received on the first ballot in the Convention only fourteen votes from the Slave-States.

On the whole the Convention adopted a Douglas platform in affirming the repeal of the

Missouri Compromise, and the non-interference of Congress in the territories. But had it accepted at the same time, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty? To this question two answers could be construed, and out of this dualism is to unfold the party conflict of the future. The pivotal clause runs: "Resolved, that we recognize the right of the People of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States." The obvious meaning of this clause was violated by both Pierce and Buchanan, unless the Missourians expressed "the will of a majority of actual residents" when they seized the legal machinery of the Territory by violence. Douglas will defend the usurpation up to the time of the Convention, but after it he gets new light and changes his mind. The clause is not, when fairly interpreted, ambiguous, still out of it grew or continued to grow the Kansas collision between the wrong which is legal, and the right which is illegal—the one side appealing to legality (law and order), the other side to primal justice.

The nominee of the Democratic Convention

was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, which was regarded as the pivotal State, and which had never before furnished a President, and has never since, and seemingly will not soon again. It was through and through a politic nomination of a politician who had made many an old Quaker of William Penn's State believe that he was a Free-Soiler, and yet he had signed the Ostend manifesto in the interest of extending the slave-power to Cuba. He had been out of the country during the Kansas-Nebraska excitement, as Minister to England. He was getting old, but had ridden so dexterously two horses all his political life that his very expertness recommended him in the present emergency of his party. It was rumored in the North that he was favorable to making Kansas a Free-State. But the South knew their man, and took care to know that they knew him. In the North always the uncanny question kept rising: How will Buchanan, if elected, carry out the platform, especially that plank so deftly morticed together of two such different sorts of wood? This question, however, did not seem to trouble the South very much, its security being born of knowledge and buttressed by pledges.

A fortnight after the Democratic Convention, came the turn of the Republicans to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Who shall it be?



McLean and Chase were mentioned, but had little chance from the start. But how about Seward, the acknowledged leader and mouth-piece of the new party, on the whole the ablest public man in it, as far as could at present be seen? To this day Seward's attitude is problematical; it seems that he hardly knew himself whether he wanted the nomination or not. Of course he would have liked to be President, but he doubted whether he or any Republican could be elected in 1856. The question seems to have taken this shape in his mind: If I run and am beaten now, will it improve or injure my chances in 1860, when victory appears probable? It is said that the influence of his friend and chief adviser, Thurlow Weed, determined him to decline the present nomination in the interest of the future. At any rate Seward lost his opportunity. He refused the place of supreme generalship in his party's first great battle, thinking of his own success more than of the cause. It was a test of the deepest fiber of his character, and could not help being so regarded by the thinking heads of his party. He abdicated leadership in the presence of the enemy, when the importunate call came to him and he heard it, not once upon a time but for many months. Never can he be President now; the nomination will never come to him again, begging; when he wants it, he can-

not get it, by the judgment of his own Deed confirmed by the Gods.

Who, then, shall lead us? is the crushing question of that half-dazed Convention, finding itself leaderless in its grand emergency. It casts about, groping blindly for the wanted man, and clutches in the dark yet with all its might — an adventurer. For such a term is not too harsh for John C. Fremont, when we consider his career and character. Can mortal sagacity fathom the reason why such a Convention should choose such a man, the most unfit ever nominated by a great party for the Presidency, if we consider the perilous crisis threatening the land at that time? Yet the Convention has been declared by good authority to have contained a greater number of able, pure, conscientious men, to have had in it fewer self-seekers and office-seekers than any known Convention of any party before or since. The practical politician is at hand with his explanations: Too many idealists, theorists, dreamers, reformers, Heaven-and-Earth regenerators; too few of practical men like myself. We cannot accept this as an explanation in full of the phenomenon; still it contains a grain, possibly two grains of truth. But looking back through fifty years we quite involuntarily bend the knee and thank the Lord for His providential mercy when we consider what might or rather must have happened, had Fre-

mont been elected President by the callow Republican party, which showed itself then such a political greenhorn, so totally unable to govern the country. For after all, it is the successful Party which must rule, not so much the President.

## The Presidential Campaign.

Each side through its Convention has now prepared itself for the political struggle which involves the whole People. That little actual war on the border with its two opposing principles has widened out into a national contest, as yet peaceful, between these same principles. The two Parties, Republican and Democratic, have substantially taken the place of the two protagonists of the Kansas combat, the Free-State men and the Slave-State men. One Party supports the Kansans, the other the Administration; thus the rent on the border is cleaving the whole Nation. As the majority is supposed to rule, each Party is seeking to win that majority constitutionally, although we hear again menaces of secession from the South, in case of the election of Fremont.

More and more do we see that the little civil war of Kansas was the prediction and indeed the epitome of the Great Civil War, for which the alignment is already taking place in the political campaign of 1856. Kansas has nationalized itself in one year's time, and bids fair to universalize itself. Its sturdy pioneers are holding the advanced fortress of civilization with the valor of the old Marathonian soldiers, dimly conscious

of doing not only a national, but a world-historical deed.

Accordingly the first part of the pivotal year of 1856 may be regarded as having completed its round or cycle with the two Conventions. Now follows the second part of the year, the Campaign, proper, with its multitudinous assemblages of the folk listening to speeches and debates, with its noisy blowing of horns, particularly of fog-horns, large and little, with that vigorous churning of the masses to make them realize their Constitution and Government—all of which a Presidential election brings and ought to bring. Still underneath this seemingly chaotic multiplicity of doings, there is an order, yes a process which is simple enough, and which has the same fundamental character as the one just given, though different in details. This underlying historic process is what we shall now briefly present.

1. *Washington.* In view of the approaching Campaign, the Administration sought not only not to irritate but to calm the Kansas troubles, which had shown such a reverberating power in the North. It was freely said by Democrats that Buchanan could not be elected unless Kansas was pacified. Accordingly the President sent a new Governor of the Territory, who was to bring peace at all hazards. Robinson, the Free-State leader, after four months' imprisonment, was



released on bail, and the legal ban of treason was removed by Judge Lecompte himself, its originator, doubtless by orders from Washington. The new Governor, Geary, arrived in September and found work enough. Still he had remarkable success. Before the national election he could send forth the statement already cited, that peace reigned in Kansas. But it was only a temporary lull in the storm, though Geary was honest in his opinion, and showed himself both a courageous and a fair-minded man. Moreover Judge Lecompte, called the Kansas Jeffries, was removed. President Pierce, having lost the grand prize, was minded to be not quite so subservient to his masters, who on their part had resolved to try a new tool, this one being quite broken to pieces in their service.

But the most significant attempt to get rid of the Kansas burden was the bill introduced by the Georgia Senator, Robert Toombs, a few days after the Republican Convention (June 24th). As we look at this bill now, it is eminently fair; in fact it seems to give up the Kansas fight, and to recognize the triumph of the Free-State principle. It provided for a census of the actual inhabitants who alone were to have the right to vote, and who were to choose delegates to a constitutional Convention. The whole was to be under the direction of five competent persons appointed by the President and confirmed by the

Senate. The Convention was to form a Constitution preparatory to the admission of Kansas as a State. There was to be due protection against illegal voting that there might be "an honest expression of the opinion of the present inhabitants."

There is still a question as to the motives which lay behind this remarkable bill. It seems to indicate a change of Southern attitude, a sudden unaccountable transformation. Was it simply an electioneering document to take the wind out of the Republican sails? So the Republicans deemed it, and sought in every way to keep for themselves the magazine whence came their best campaign ammunition. It will never do to let the Democrats, and particularly these Southerners, crowd us out of our place and make Kansas a Free-State. The chief stress of attack was on the appointment of the five commissioners by the President, but this objection could have been easily obviated. The Toombs bill was a consummate political move. If the Republicans accepted it, the Democrats got the credit; if they refused it, they would go before the country as wishing to keep Kansas in a stew, in order that her screams might benefit the party. Even Douglas was roused to sudden emulation, and introduced a new bill rivaling that of Toombs in its liberal provisions for the Free-State voters. But let us hear the outcome: the Senate passed

the Toombs bill by 33 to 12, the nays being Republican; the House, since it was Republican, never took the bill up.

Accordingly we hear the charge by the Democratic campaign speakers and newspapers that the Republicans did not wish to have the trouble settled, that they were not ready to stanch the wound of "Bleeding Kansas" but rather sought to make her bleed the more for political effect. Her shouts of torture, echoed from that enormous Atlantic fog-horn of journalism, and reiterated now from the thousand throats of political orators with sympathetic eloquence, were transmuted into a ceaseless roll of campaign thunder whose detonations quake us still in memory. No wonder that the Democrats wanted some offset to stay that overwhelming avalanche of the spoken and written word, which was sweeping everybody in the North off their feet. Moreover the same implement, that marvelous reduplicating printing-press, is to be employed by the other side; so we learn that 20,000 copies of the Toombs bill were ordered by the Senate to be printed, for the purpose of being circulated as an electioneering document. But what a little piping sound that would make in comparison with the Republican fog-horn, in whose sounding sea it was literally swallowed up!

In these calm days the historical reader is inclined to look upon the Toombs bill with favor.

Whatever be his political sympathies, he will enjoy the complete discomfiture of the Republicans, when their own thunderbolts were deftly removed from the party armory, and began to be turned against their former custodians. No wonder Seward and the rest were badly upset, crying as old Dennis once did in the theater: You have stolen my thunder. Such an unblushing theft was enough to make grave Senators turn red with indignation, and to cause the Republican Representatives to smother the illegitimate bantling at its very birth. And as to the deeper motives of the Southerners we are left in the dark; we cannot help suspecting them, though we believe that Toombs was honest when he drew the bill, even if afterwards he was led to change his mind. For after the Dred Scott decision, the Southern line of policy indicated by the bill was wholly altered, if indeed it was ever seriously intended by the leading spirits of the Oligarchy.

2. *Kansas*. Passing from the center again to the border, after the Sack of Lawrence we find that there was still trouble enough between the pro-slavery party and the Free-State men. Shannon, the Governor, fled from the Territory and left his authority in the hands of the Secretary, Daniel Woodson, who was of the violent pro-slavery type, and friendly to the Missourians. At once word was sent to the latter that their opportunity had come.

For the town of Lawrence, after its Sack, had revived and again had begun to be a center of military activity on the part of the Free-State men. The vicinity of the place was guarded by several small forts or block-houses held by its enemies for the purpose of cutting off supplies. Food became very scarce in the Free-State citadel, whose people sent out forces to capture these hostile places. Thus the siege of Lawrence began to be raised, and further warfare seemed to come to an end in a peace patched up by Governor Shannon. This was the conclusion of his gubernatorial career, being succeeded by the above mentioned Secretary Woodson in the interim. The latter at once started the war anew by issuing a proclamation which declared the territory to be "in a state of open insurrection and rebellion." He called upon all patriotic citizens to rally to the defense of "Law and Order," which was the cloak for a fresh invasion, the fourth.

The strongest and best equipped force which Missouri had ever sent out over the border, began to approach Lawrence about the middle of September. Its members reached 2,500 men armed and organized, with infantry, cavalry and artillery. They had come not to vote but to fight, and their first objective point was Lawrence, and then Topeka. These two Free-State towns were to be wiped out completely, and the settlers



driven from the country. It was to be the grand final stroke of the border conflict.

But some days before this (Sept. 10), the new Governor, Geary, had arrived. Lawrence was in a helpless condition, though Robinson (who had been released) and others tried to put it into a state of defense. Word was sent to the Governor at Lecompton who at once ordered Federal troops to the scene. These arrived just in time to intercept the march of the Missourians toward the town. The Governor himself at once followed and called to a parley the leaders of the invasion, of whom Atchison was the chief. The result was that the whole force turned back to Missouri, Atchison stating that "he (the Governor) promised all we wanted."

The conduct of Atchison in these border forays causes many a reflection as to his motives. A case might be made out that he went along with the extremists in order to restrain them from excessive violence, perchance to thwart their policy. Stringfellow, on the other hand, was the bitter partisan and revolutionist who proposed to destroy his enemies without mercy, and without regard to existing authority. The comparison again recurs that he was the John Brown on the Missouri side.

Thus the Fourth Invasion, at first the most threatening of all, is completely nullified and undone, not by Robinson's phantom anti-gov-

ernment, but by Geary's actual government. A great step forward for the Free-State men; the illegal right is getting legal, being enforced by constituted authority. The last Missouri invasion has taken place when it has to meet United States soldiers in its path. There remains, however, the fraudulent, but legitimated Territorial Government, with its legal body but illegal soul, having the letter of the Law without its spirit. Under these circumstances the anti-government has still a reason for not dying, and so keeps up its shadowy existence.

What Geary said is not fully known, though there is no doubt he impressed upon the minds of those leaders the political effect of another Sack of Lawrence in the heat of a dubious Presidential contest. He must have threatened them with his own personal opposition as well as that of the Administration. Then he had at his back a troop of United States soldiers, the most convincing argument of all.

At once the Territory became, if not quiet, at least quiescent, and Geary could report that he had brought peace to Kansas, at present sorely needed for the Democratic campaign. The Republican orators could now be partially answered, and Lawrence, instead of sending shrieks of pain for reverberation through the mighty megaphone, gave forth joyful cries of deliverance, which sounded more joyful to Democrats than

to Republicans. But it was a narrow escape. As sure as the sun rises to-morrow, if those Missourians enter and sack Lawrence again, Fremont is elected. Let the United States dragoons ride at a gallop down the road from Lecompton, and the foot-soldiers follow at double-quick, to intercept the invaders now deploying in sight of the seemingly doomed town. And thou, O Geary, bestir thyself with all dispatch toward the same point, for the course of America's History, perchance of all History, turns on the delay of a day, possibly of an hour. Fremont elected! Ride, ride with unchecked rein, in obedience to a mightier command than thou hast ever heard before, since the coming President of the United States is to be chosen by thee, yes by thee, in the next few hours.

So Geary makes his ride to Lawrence, under the very pressure and urgency of the World-Spirit, whose behest he is fulfilling. Buchanan can now be elected President, and the Great War be deferred another four years.

3. *The Country.* We may next glance at the third item in the present movement along with Washington and Kansas, namely the Country as a whole. This is now undergoing the turmoil of a Presidential campaign, which echoes in an enormous volume of words the strife in Kansas. The two Conventions, as

already set forth, have nominated the candidates upon their respective platforms.

The campaign was profoundly educational and ultimately was based upon an interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. Did this give the power to Congress to control Slavery in the Territories? The affirmative was maintained by the Republicans. The People were thus thrown back to reflect upon their organic law. The formulated expression of what made them a Nation must not only be studied and explained, but unfolded into its consequences. Two different interpretations of the Constitution grappled and struggled for the possession of the future. The one asserted that this genetic law of the Federal Union made it the generator of Free-States, the other of Slave-States as well, if not altogether. The prodigious advantage of the Northern orator was that he could appeal to the undying passion of freedom in the soul of his hearers. Vague enough was such feeling, but it was very real and very powerful. A famous philosopher has said that the great goal of History, of the total historic movement of the race, is the realization of freedom. The pursuit of this end is what has united all mankind from the beginning, and thus made humanity a unit. The Republican speakers and writers could justly appeal to the deepest passion of the human heart.

The Democrats had to apologize, to scoff at the freedom-shriekers, and to satirize the extravagances of individuals. Then came that pathetic theme of Bleeding Kansas, beaten, tortured, woe-laden in the cause of freedom. The opposition were put on the defensive, could only excuse or deny the facts, or promise better things when the new Administration came into power, of which an earnest might already be seen in the success of Governor Geary. This was, however, a losing game unless the Democrats could find some positive ground-theme for the support of which they could appeal to the People.

Fortunately for themselves, they laid hold of a subject which would stir the heart of the People quite as deeply as the note of freedom. This was the love of the Union. Buchanan in his letter of acceptance gave his adhesion to the Kansas policy of Douglas and Pierce; but he also put special stress upon the Unionism of the Democratic party in contrast with the sectionalism of the Republicans. Both their candidates for President and Vice-President were from the Free-States. There was in the South no Republican vote; this lay wholly north of Mason and Dixon's line. Since the Free-States had 176 votes in the electoral College and the Slave States but 121 — nearly the ratio of 3 to 2 — the charge lay near that the Republicans were a sectional party, from which fact the inference was drawn



that their supremacy endangered the Union. This was reinforced by the open threats of disunion on the part of leading Southerners in the case of Fremont's election. One might well ask, which side contained the disunionists in view of such menaces? Still the appeal to love of the Union in the hearts of the People was very effective, and probably decided the election. Once more the Northerners in sufficient numbers paid heed to these threats, but the next time they will not listen. The experience, however, will not be thrown away, and the logic will be relentlessly drawn: if the South threatens disunion when it cannot have its own way, being in the minority, then they are the disunionists. This is what the coming four years are to prove. The election of President by the legal majority is now fore-shadowed to end in secession. Already in 1856 the South mentally was getting ready to go out of the Union.

Such was, however, the result of the conflict in Kansas. That small local border between it and Missouri running longitudinally has now been extended into a dividing line from the West to the Atlantic, splitting open the Union between North and South which begins to gape wide all along Mason and Dixon's line. Still the rent will seem to close after the election. The love of the Union, however, now so strongly inculcated by

the Democrats, will have its true effect when four years hence it will rise in the North with a mighty outburst against the Southern disunionists, who are thus helping forge thunderbolts against themselves for future use. Now we may see that the Democratic party, especially in the North, receives a great training in Unionism through the campaign for Buchanan—a training which will bear fruit in 1861.

The Democratic platform and speakers deprecated the agitation of the slavery question. The Southerners must be let alone in their extension of black servitude. The ever reduplicating voice of the press was indeed their chief foe, to whom they could only cry stop! They had no adequate means for counteracting it; they could not get at the Northern megaphone, and could not construct one of their own. So it kept sounding in their faces and drowning their voices. Still the People of the North were not yet sufficiently united to defeat the Southerners. Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the East, Indiana and Illinois in the West, and California on the Pacific, all of them Free-States, joined with the sum total of Slave-States, except Maryland which voted for Fillmore, to elect Buchanan, who received 174 electoral votes to Fremont's 114. A large majority of the Northern States chose the Republican candidate, yet each had a decided Democratic minority, so that Buchanan in the popular vote of

the Free-States fell behind Fremont a little more than 100,000. On the other hand there was no Republican minority in the South except a handful in the Border States, not reaching 1,200 votes in 1856 all told. Very distinctly does the Presidential election of 1856 show a disunited North against a united South upon the great question of the time: Shall the Union continue to be Slave-State producing? Not yet ready is even the Northern Folk-Soul to face the responsibilities of victory. Fremont is not the man, and the Republican party is too inexperienced for political rule.

## Outlook.

The Republican party which cast such an astonishing vote in 1856, was barely one year old, and must be sent to school. Young and vigorous as a hickory sapling, it is very verdant and altogether too sappy; the infant, though a Hercules, must be put under severe training, in order to conquer the Giants of Darkness at the next great contest. Four years more this new schooling must last, till the Folk-Soul graduate fully prepared for its work. Not yet sufficiently indurated and indoctrinated in its principles is the North, which has still to take up into its very being that the Union must indeed be preserved, but shall produce no more Slave-States. The work of Kansas is, then, not yet finished; her throes must again be roused from Washington in a final supreme effort to make hers a polity enslaved, in opposition to her desperate struggles.

So the North has to undergo the discipline of defeat, painful but salutary. It has not been united upon the great duty of the Age; it has not obeyed fully the behest of the World-Spirit. Olympian Zeus, or his modern representative in America, declares to the Northern Folk-Soul now summoned into his presence and given an outlook upon the far vaster coming plan in his

bosom: "Not only must you stop producing Slave-States, you must now think of undoing slavery in the new, and then in the old Slave-States, if you wish to win the favor of the Gods." Replies the American Folk-Soul: "I cannot touch slavery in the States where it is already established by law." Whereupon Zeus frowning answers: "Then I shall turn against you, and scourge you, and humiliate you with defeat, till you do fulfill the decree sent from above." Such is the discipline of defeat often recorded in that old Greek as well as in our American Iliad, the peculiar training from the hand of Zeus himself, meted out even to the people whom he favors till they do the right thing.

And by way of counterpart it must be added that the South also is in training through these events; indeed she shows herself trained already to a fixed purpose by her long possession of national power. We have to believe that she thinks she must rule in any case, rule by violence if necessary; though now clearly a minority, she deems that the government of the Nation is hers by a kind of hereditary right. She will use the Law as long as she can; but when she can no longer administer it in her own interest, she will defy it and revolt. In Kansas we have seen how she employs legal forms to bolster her supremacy against the majority. Really this has been her study for many years



in ruling the Nation, in fact ever since the North began to outstrip her in numbers and wealth. We can now see that she put altogether too great faith, lawyer that she was, in formal legality, paying too little regard to the spirit of the Law, to that elemental justice which is the original of all Laws and gives to them even their forms. So the South as well as the North, in this bitter Kansas testing of souls, shows her character and her deepest consciousness, giving also suggestive glimpses of what she will do in the future.

But the year 1856 has given to the South another quadrennial lease of power, though with many a sharp admonition, which she would do well to heed. The cry of an endangered Union, raised by her and her supporters, has been listened to by a sufficient number of Northern States to keep her still in her national supremacy. But is she really honest in her anxiety about the Union, or is she merely or mainly threatening? That is what she is now given an opportunity to prove. The sincerity of her love for the Union is already questioned just through her menaces. She must expect that the real lovers of the Union will the next time reply: The Union cannot let itself be threatened, particularly by its friends.

### CHAPTER III. THE STRUGGLE RE- NEWED. (1857-8.)

The peace which Geary brought to Kansas in 1856, is destined to turn out delusive. Invasion from Missouri has indeed shown itself unsuccessful so often, that it is given up, at least on its large scale; but another method has been excogitated at Washington, which is to renew the old struggle by applying fresh instruments of torture to the people of Kansas that they be compelled to adopt slavery. This is essentially a return to the beginning of the contest in 1855, all of which has to be fought over again.

There was at first a cessation of political excitement in the North after the election, as it was generally thought that Buchanan would give to Kansas self-government, which of course meant that she would be a Free-State. And such was doubtless Buchanan's early purpose. But when he was fairly launched on the sea of

Washington pro-slavery influence, he began to change. Moreover that dualism in the Democratic platform starts to opening wider and wider, and he has to take sides. He, weak in himself, is borne forward by the stronger current of his party.

In his inauguration address, the President alludes to a judicial decision soon to be given, which would settle "the whole territorial question upon the principle of popular sovereignty." Thus Buchanan knew beforehand of the Dred Scott decision, and of its interpretation of popular sovereignty. Did he have any hand in bringing about that decision? Seward and Lincoln thought so; but in view of his character the probability is that he simply accepted the scheme which the Southerners had forged in their own inner circle.

And now we come to the great new move of the slave-power to destroy the Republican party and to keep their domination against the ever-increasing majority of the North, and specially to make Kansas a Slave-State. The National Judiciary is to be dragged into the political conflict, as the Territorial Judiciary of Kansas had already been made to protect and to assist the Missouri invaders. Two days after Buchanan's inauguration Taney, the Chief Justice, gave the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court in the case of the negro Dred Scott. Without

going into the many collateral points of this famous decision, we shall select the following: (1) There is no difference, according to the Constitution, between slave property and any other kind of property; both kinds are entitled to the same protection. Still the Constitution, (we may here interpolate) did make a distinction, when it never required the return of escaped horses and cattle, but did require the rendition of a *person* held to service. (2) A free negro whose ancestor was a slave is not a citizen within the meaning of the Constitution and cannot sue in the United States Courts. (3) The Missouri Compromise of 1820 is unconstitutional, Congress having no power to pass it. (4) The Declaration of Independence receives also judicial interpretation. The famous clause "that all men are created equal," was not intended to apply to "the enslaved African race."

Two members of the Court dissented, one of whom, Judge B. R. Curtis, made himself for a time the protagonist of freedom, and turned the Court against itself, causing it to show the dualism of the time. Curtis proved historically that in a number of States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution negroes were not only citizens, but were voters. The Judge then traversed the opinion that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional by citing eight distinct instances

in which Congress excluded Slavery from the Territories, and six distinct instances in which Congress maintained Slavery in the Territories. He also gave it as his opinion that the Fathers were not liable "to the reproach of inconsistency when they declared that all men are created equal;" they did not intend to except the black man. Another effective blow: "Slavery being contrary to natural right, is created only by municipal law." This may be deemed a re-affirmation of Lord Mansfield's famous doctrine that when a slave sets foot on the soil of England, he is free, there being no municipal law supporting slavery. On the other hand it was a true inference from Taney's decision that in the Union slavery existed in every State; thus it was made national. When a slave set foot in a Free-State of the Union, it became logically a Slave-State.

On this side, however, the South, as the supporter of State Rights, overstepped itself, for the individual State could no longer constitutionally exclude slavery. This inference was not explicitly drawn by Taney, but remained for the future, enough having been done for once. But we shall see Lincoln drawing it and calling it in advance the second Dred Scott decision. Thus the nationalization of slavery in accord with the doctrine of Calhoun had been declared to be the highest law of land. Still that utterance

revealed the deepest kind of a rent in the Supreme Court itself.

A far weightier inference is that the Republican party has been decided by the highest Tribunal to be unconstitutional. What is to be done? Obey the law and let Slavery take all, or is the alternative revolution? The new problem set many a Northern head to thinking. At this point the words of Judge Curtis again furnished light. The decision of "this or any court is not binding when expressed on a question not legitimately before it." The negro's citizenship, as well as the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise were alien matters dragged in by extra-judicial considerations. Properly then, nothing has been decided, and the case should be dismissed "for want of jurisdiction."

Again the reverberation of the press began making a noise equal to that of the Presidential campaign. The legal aspects of the decision were discussed and explained to the People, who had now to go to school again to the Constitution, which is to be overhauled in the popular mind from its very foundation. This decision so ominous, can it not be changed? The answer of Lincoln was that the Supreme Court had often reversed itself and can do so again. But what about this Constitution itself — who made it? At the very beginning of it the People could not help finding this clause: "We, the People, do



ordain and establish this Constitution." Moreover a special Article (the Fifth) was found which prescribed the manner of changing the Constitution itself. So the People begin their training, not merely toward reversing the decision, but transforming the Court which made it, yea toward transforming the Constitution itself. Such a discipline was initiated by the Dred Scott case; it made the People more and more legal-minded through the study of their organic law. It compelled the Folk-Soul to take back into itself the Constitution, which once sprang from it, and to begin making this over in accord with the new spirit. It has been brought to deny that the negro is a human being with rights which can be vindicated by the established law. If that is the case, the whole Constitution must be re-committed to the People whence it came; and be wrought over and at least be amended in the defective portions. Such is the outlook upon the coming years, for this work cannot be done in a hurry. In a little more than a decade, however, the Dred Scott decision will be completely reversed by the People (Amendments XIII and XIV), and the Constitution transformed according to the Constitution.

The Dred Scott decision was a two-edged weapon, which could certainly be turned upon its friends. If it undid the Republican party, it assailed equally the basis of the Popular Sover-

eighty doctrine of Douglas. The People of a Territory or its legislature had no right to keep out the slaveholder with his property, and let in the farmer with his horses and cattle; that would destroy the equality of the States in the common domain of the Union. But the decision went further: it assailed the Southern doctrine of State-Rights, since any State by anti-slavery legislation would disturb that same equality. Possibly, however, State-Rights were only for the South, and not for the North.

Judge Taney had a high view of his office, so high that he deemed that the World's History was controlled by the decision of the Supreme Court. But it is not the Supreme Tribunal of the Ages, still less is it the Supreme Tribunal of the United States. The People created it, and ultimately every decision must be referred back to them for confirmation, and perchance the Court itself may have to be referred back and be re-established. Taney's delusion belonged to his class and his section; both refused to see the trend of the Age and sought to stop the movement by a Pope's bull against a comet. In its deepest tendency the decision nullifies itself, destroying instead of supporting Slavery, undermining instead of bolstering State-Rights. In the Court itself this self-nullification was manifested strongly in the dissenting opinion of Curtis,

which traversed the judgment of the Chief Justice at every leading point, and even denied the Court's jurisdiction in the case as presented. Even as to law, the consensus of the best lawyers to-day seems to be that Curtis was right and Taney wrong.

Douglas accepted the Dred Scott decision with an air of triumph, since it vindicated his repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for which so much obloquy had been poured upon him by the North. It now turns out, so he declares, that he had simply done away with an enactment unconstitutional from the beginning. But how was he going to reconcile his Popular Sovereignty with the decision? The right of the slaveholder to his negroes holds good in the Territories, says he, but it is worthless unless protected by the local legislature and its police regulations. These depend on the will of the people. This view really nullifies the decision and makes a distinction between slave property and other property. Thus Douglas brings to the surface the dualism inherent in his repeal of the Missouri Compromise, since he asserts its two conflicting sides, sovereignty of the People of the Territory and equality of the States. Curiously it may be said of Douglas that his negative was affirmed by the Supreme Court, but his affirmative was negated. The last is what will bring him into opposition with the South and split the Democratic party.

The split lay already slumbering, though unborn, in the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Douglas (1854), a clause of which declares that the people of Kansas and Nebraska should be left “perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, *subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*” The italicized words contain the coming trouble. To be “subject to the Constitution” is to be subject to the interpretation of it by the Supreme Court, which might not permit the People to exclude slavery, or to be “perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way.” This was the pivotal fact upon which the Northern Democrats thought one way and the Southern Democrats thought the opposite way. It is said that there was an agreement in caucus between the two sides to leave the interpretation of the phrase “subject to the Constitution” in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to the Supreme Court, which has now (in 1857) rendered its decision hostile directly to the People’s right of excluding slavery from the Territories, and indirectly to the People’s right of excluding it from the Free-States. This really annihilated the People as institution-maker, the fundamental trait of the American.

Here it was that Douglas missed another great opportunity, perhaps the greatest of his life. Very distinctly at this point appears a bridge

over which he could have passed to the leadership of the North, and have carried a large portion of his party in the Free-States along with him. Many of his party soon went without him. But Douglas lagged behind the Sprit of his Age, he did not commune deeply with the Folk-Soul of his Nation and sympathize with its aspirations. But now, just now steps forward the man who is to take the place which he passes by, Abraham Lincoln, whose form begins to rise prominently out of the obscurity of his humble life. In a speech at Springfield, Illinois (June 26th, 1857), he sets forth the grounds and also the limits of opposition to the Dred Scott decision.

Douglas put himself out of tune with his time by being indifferent whether slavery were voted up or down in Kansas. He dwelt upon the inferiority of the negro, with the implied conclusion that the inferior race ought to be enslaved. This smote in the face the trend of the North and of the civilized World. The Judgment of the Tribunal of the Ages could already be heard that the backward race was no longer to be enslaved by the superior race, even if this had been the method of the past. Here again Lincoln far more truly represented his epoch.

Such was the Dred Scott decision whose first and most direct effect was to renew the Kansas struggle. It seemed as if the field must all be

fought over again, the people being suddenly thrown back to the beginning of the conflict in 1855. Though the method of attack was different, it was not less dangerous. Yet the Kansans had no notion of giving up the contest. The task which the World-Spirit has imposed upon them is still unfinished; they have to vindicate their Free-State against all the power open and hidden, which slavery, though it be in authority, can summon against them. Kansas continues to be the protagonist of the new Union as producing Free-States only. The result is, she will again have to suffer.

The historic process underlying the occurrences of this year (1857-8) will, therefore, be the same as before. We shall again see the irritation coming from Washington under the new Administration; then the suffering and resistance of Kansas; finally the People of the North responding sympathetically, and ruminating upon the rising crisis.



## Washington.

The first year and some months of Buchanan's Administration are still occupied with Kansas, whose troubles and duties do not end with the Presidential election or with the Dred Scott decision. The pro-slavery party centering at Washington evolves a new insidious scheme for making Kansas a Slave-State. This scheme is known as the Lecompton Constitution which was to take the place of the Missouri Invasion, the latter having completely failed in its purpose. A day (June 15th, 1857) had been appointed by the Territorial Legislature to elect delegates of a Convention for making a Constitution. The Free-State men refused to participate in this election on account of its unfairness as well as its fraudulent source. Pro-slavery men were of course chosen, and they made a pro-slavery Constitution. This was the instrument which was now to be employed, particularly at Washington to destroy the freedom of Kansas.

There is no doubt that this scheme was first suggested by the success of Robinson's anti-government with its Topeka Constitution. The present period of Kansas history is, therefore, the battle of the two Constitutions, which repeats in a new form the same old conflict between

the right which is formally illegal and the wrong which is formally legal. Somewhat more than a year, from Buchanan's beginnings till August 2nd, 1858, this war between the two constitutional phantoms lasted, with many fluctuations. Finally the people of Kansas got the chance to vote upon the Lecompton Constitution fairly and legally, when they slew it with such an overwhelming majority that not only it but the whole Kansas strife came to an end. And with this end is coupled another end: Kansas concludes her most important chapter, and her events drop back into the common stream of local history; her contributions to the World's History cease in a decidedly abrupt finale.

Washington, the center of the country, becomes now the center of irritation for the People directly, as well as for Kansas. From the national Capitol goes forth the decision which means the nationalization of slavery. The Folk-Soul is not so much stirred to action as to reflection; there is not the incentive of a political contest, but the appeal to the deepest instinct of human nature as well as to reason. The political literature changes; there is an enormous distribution of the decisions of the Supreme Judges, as well as of the Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence. These form the text of the speeches, articles, dissertations of the

time. Not to Will but to Intellect is the word now spoken, as well as to Feeling.

In consequence of the Dred Scott decision, the Southern party takes new hope of making Kansas a Slave-State. Both Houses of Congress are democratic. All the branches of the General Government, executive, legislative, and judicial are in the one party's hands. To be sure, the Northern democrats, even the President, had won their places by holding out the belief that Kansas would be a Free-State, in accord with the wishes of its inhabitants. Hence arose an ominous division: the Southerners formed an inner circle, a party to control the party, of which Jefferson Davis, now a Senator from Mississippi, was the leading spirit. In this way was laid the foundation for a division in the governing party, indeed for several divisions, since each division will again divide, this being the tendency during Buchanan's whole administration. In other words, the spirit of secession was working in the Democratic party long before actual secession.

It is now generally considered that this inner circle of Southerners at Washington became the government and determined its policy, without paying much regard to Buchanan. In fact, it seems to have acted repeatedly in administrative measures without his knowledge. At least two members of his Cabinet (Cobb and Thompson),

and perhaps more, belonged to this cabal, usurping his place when his total lack of will-power became manifest, and not even caring to inform him in certain cases what his own Administration had done or had resolved to do.

Hence came the contradictions between what Buchanan said and what the Government actually did during this year, especially in its earlier portion. The President repeated again and again that the people of Kansas should have a fair vote upon the Lecompton Constitution; but this was just what the Administration bent every effort to thwart. The President was for Governor Walker, the Administration was against him. Thus the President and his Administration moved in two quite different spheres.

The relation of Buchanan to this governing cabal necessarily fluctuated. He could not help finding out that things had been done in his name and by his authority without even his cognizance. What would he do? Submit to such proceedings and even sanction them, or make some kind of a stand? Let us note the leading stages of his conduct in regard to this matter.

1. We may take the first stage to be when Buchanan urges Walker to accept the Governorship of Kansas, and agrees to Walker's condition, namely, an honest ballot for her people. At the same time the cabal must have been at work with the opposite purpose. For we can-

not think that Buchanan was lying all this while and trying to deceive Walker. Thus the distinction between the President as talking figure-head and the real though secret Administration develops itself, till the cabal is ready to force the President to adopt its policy in Kansas.

2. When this took place, or what were the means used, it is not easy to tell. To Forney Buchanan once said that the Southerners threatened him with a dissolution of the Union unless he abandoned Walker and free Kansas. At any rate he became the mouth-piece of the cabal in its most extravagant pretensions. Already before the meeting of Congress in December, 1857, it had been noised abroad that the President favored the Lecompton scheme. But on February 2nd, 1858, he completed his act of self-stultification by sending the Lecompton Constitution to Congress, and with it a message in which he declares that slavery exists in Kansas as much as in South Carolina or Georgia, a fact which has been settled by "the highest judicial tribunal known to our laws." Unless this were so, "the equality of the sovereign States composing the Union would be violated." Furthermore this equality demands that Kansas be a Slave-State, since that will restore the equilibrium between North and South, there being now one more Free-State than Slave-State. All of which means that the South will not surrender

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its domination over the Federal Union, even though far outstripped by the North.

But this act of Buchanan and the cabal brings about the most important occurrence of the period: the split in the Democratic party led by Douglas. The division between South and North passing from Kansas to Washington, cuts in twain the very support of Buchanan. The rupture will not only last but increase, determining the next Presidential election and contributing powerfully to bring on the Great War.

3. The Lecompton scheme was defeated in the House of Representatives in spite of the efforts of the Administration. But a final attempt to foist it upon Kansas was made in a bill introduced by William E. English, a Democratic member of the House from Indiana. This measure, known popularly as the Bill-English bill, proposed to submit the Lecompton Constitution to another vote of the people of Kansas; if they adopted it, they were to receive Statehood at once by proclamation of the President, and in addition a large tract of government land. If they rejected it, they were to remain a Territory without the gift of the land. Such was the alluring bribe held out by the Congress of the United States. It is amusing to this day to see with what indignation Kansas rejected the bribe.



## Kansas.

At this point we shall pass from the Center to the Border, and observe the movement of the events of this first year of Buchanan, in which starts afresh the old irritation, though not in the old way. Still the President at first seems to have cherished a good intention toward Kansas, which he brought from his Northern home. He selected two excellent men for the leading offices — Walker of Alabama for Governor and Stanton of Tennessee for Secretary. Both were from Slave-States and were pro-slavery in sentiment; it may be added that they went to Kansas with the prejudice of their section and their party against the Free-State people of the Territory. About these they had a great lesson to learn, and a still greater one to learn about their own people.

The new Governor was a fair-minded man and proposed to secure to the Territory an honest vote of its inhabitants. He did not wish to take the position; already he could count three political graves of Kansas Governors since 1855, not to speak of one acting Governor officially beheaded. It was an uncanny, gruesome business to enter and govern in such a gubernatorial graveyard. Nor did his wife want

him to go. But his and her scruples were finally overcome through the personal intercession of both Buchanan and Douglas.

1. Walker reached Kansas May 26th, 1857. He saw a large emigration pouring in from the Free States, each man both a settler and a fighter. But he saw few, if any slave-holders coming with their slaves into the Territory; not two hundred slaves could be counted. Quite a number of non-slave-holding Southerners were arriving, but they had a pronounced tendency to turn Free-State men, since not a few of them had left the South because of slavery. Most of these men were Democrats, and they formed a decided majority of their party in the Territory. Walker, looking over the situation, estimated the Free-State Democrats at 9,000, the Republicans at 8,000, pro-slavery Democrats at 6500, pro-slavery Know-Nothings at 500 — 17,000 Free-State men to 7,000 on the other side.

This settled the future of Kansas in Walker's opinion: it would be a Free-State. Equally certain was the fact that it was decidedly democratic. Walker, as partisan, sought to reconcile the two Democratic factions on the basis of a Free-State policy. Herein is the point at which he began to collide with the inner circle at Washington, who cared nothing for the Democratic party except as a tool of slavery.

A scheme for a constitutional convention had

been framed by the preceding territorial legislature. The election (already alluded to) took place June 15th but was shunned by the Free-State men, less than one-fourth of the registered voters participated. The result was the Lecompton Convention with its Constitution. Thus Kansas had two Constitutions before it, the Topeka and the Lecompton. From now on we witness the strife of the Constitutions. Again the old trouble appears: the one had the formal right, the legality, while the other had the People with it, but was informal, even illegal. Kansas seems unable to get out of that ever-recurring see-saw between the right which is unlawful and the wrong which is lawful. Indeed we may say that this is the conflict going on throughout the whole nation. It was the spiritual conflict brought to consciousness with the keenest intensity by the Dred Scott decision; slavery is legal but wrong, anti-slavery is illegal but right. Which principle is to be obeyed: Conscience or the Constitution? Which shall rule the man, the moral or the institutional? Both ought to rule him, each in its sphere harmoniously guiding him. Yet they have become not only discordant but bitterly antagonistic, and refuse to co-operate making every man's soul the arena of strife.

The Invasion of Missourians being at an end, the inner circle at Washington saw a way of using the Lecompton Convention with its Con-

stitution as the chief means in a new campaign for Southern domination. It was known that if this Constitution were submitted to the People, it would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. Hence it was not submitted as a whole. Still the voter had the alternative of declaring, "with" or "without slavery." But the Constitution "without slavery" had in it the following statement: the property in slaves is as inviolable as any other kind of property, and the owner of slaves has the same right to them everywhere and of course in Kansas. Again the Free-State men abstained from voting (Dec. 21). The Constitution with Slavery carried by 6,226, of which nearly one-half were shown to be fraudulent. Meanwhile the Free-State men succeeded in getting another ballot upon the Constitution as a whole (Jan. 4, 1858) when more than ten thousand votes were cast against the Lecompton instrument. Both elections were investigated, and the investigation brought out even more emphatically the overwhelming sentiment of the Territory against slavery. Of course this second ballot completely thwarted the inner circle at Washington, and brought about the removal of acting-Governor Stanton who had permitted it to take place. This act of Stanton's, with what led up to it, forms the turning-point in the destiny of Kansas, and deserves special consideration.

2. Many a sign indicates that we have come

to the beginning of the end of this Kansas conflict. Its character has been often noted: the forms of Law have been seized by the pro-slavery party, and employed to put down the Will of the People. Thus the conflict has been concisely stated as that between the right which was illegal and the wrong which was legal, each side taking shape in a ruling power. Hence a double authority arose in Kansas, which we have described as the government and the anti-government, or more fully, as the real government which is the phantom, and the phantom government which is the reality. Between these two shapes has been the struggle, hitherto without victory on either side; the real government has never been able to get hold of its phantom which is indeed its spirit, and the phantom government has never been able to make itself real, to clothe itself with the forms of Law, which have been persistently purloined by the other side. Thus the Free-State men have been compelled to see and to follow and to be governed by a Spirit without any Body, which Spirit the Slave-State men have pursued and fought, seeking to run it through or shoot it or take it prisoner, all to no purpose. Each is rightly the counterpart of the other, and both belong together; but each as if bewitched, rejects the other with scorn, yea with downright battle,

and so they remain not only separated but completely alienated and combatting each other.

Into this struggle, however, a change is now to come through two acts of the United States officials. October 5th, 1857, a new Territorial Legislature was to be elected to succeed that old one elected two years before by the Missouri invaders. The Free-State men were persuaded to take part in it by Governor Walker, who promised a fair election, and who honestly fulfilled his promise by rejecting two gross frauds perpetrated by the pro-slavery party. The result was a Territorial Legislature with a decided majority of Free-State men who were now *legally* chosen, and who held their certificates of election from the constituted authorities. Thus the Missouri-elected Legislature vanishes with its mere legal form, and the Will of the People has at last gotten its body in the Law. Is it not plain that Right, so long flitting about bodiless like an unhappy ghost on the plains of Kansas, has reached its first stage of legal incarnation?

The jubilant Kansan may now have a wedding celebration of that shadowy pair, so necessary to each other, yet so long separated and mutually combative. That primal dualism, product of the first invasion of the Missourians more than two years since, and cause of so much trouble, is overcome, and the two warring counterparts,



original Right and formal Legality, have rushed together in hearty embrace, and are actually married, henceforth to remain harmonious and inseparable after their long trial. So let Kansas celebrate in speeches, sermons, and in immeasurable talk, for surely a new dawn has appeared.

But the second instance is in several respects, though not in all, more decisive, showing an honest ballot upon the Lecompton Constitution under the sanction of established authority, both National and Territorial. Governor Walker, having gone to Washington on leave of absence, the acting-Governor, Stanton, at the urgent request of the People coming to him "in great masses," convoked the Territorial Legislature now having a majority of Free-State men, for the purpose of appointing an election day on which Kansas might fairly express by ballot her opinion about the Lecompton Constitution. January 4th, 1858, was the day appointed, when, in exact figures 10,226 votes were cast against that instrument absolutely, 138 for it with slavery, 24 for it without slavery. Such was the emphatic, indeed passionate, rejection of the Lecompton Constitution by the irate People.

Thus two ballots had been held upon it, just a fortnight apart, the one being a fraud, a phantom again, the other being real and now legal. Still, at Washington the inner circle of the Oli-

garchy, wielding the power of the Administration, bolsters the fraud with its power, claiming still Legality, which, it says, is derived from its authority alone. So Legality itself gets divided in this Kansas strife; two Legalities appear and start to fighting. Hitherto we have seen the struggle between the Spirit and the Form, which twain ought to be one assuredly. But behold! Now the Form separates within itself and becomes twofold, one set of legal Forms uniting with the Spirit, the Right, the other set remaining apart and hostile. The two legal Forms, or Legalities, are now named Lecompton and anti-Lecompton, the one upheld by authority in Washington, the other by authority in Kansas, which has thus taken another great step toward getting her ideal right made real, toward legalizing the spirit of her people. Still the transition is not yet quite complete till that new Lecompton phantom be banned from the Territory.

But now for a serious counterstroke. The acting-Governor, Stanton, who had granted to the People of Kansas the foregoing opportunity for self-expression through a fair ballot, was at once removed because he had thwarted the Washington cabal. The Lecompton Constitution was to have full sweep of legality, both national and territorial; but here rises, through the act of Stanton, an anti-Lecompton legality confounding the whole pro-slavery program. He

has honestly tried to transform legality from a phantom into a reality, but in the process it has transformed him from a reality into a phantom, so that he too is thrust down into the Hades of disembodied Kansas Governors, now getting pretty crowded. And there are more to come. Governor Walker, being at Washington on business, learns of Stanton's fate, and recognizing it to be his own, resolves to follow him at once below. He sends in his resignation, seeing that the pledge under which he had accepted the office, had been violated, and that Buchanan had completely succumbed to the cabal which had determined to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the people of Kansas. Though both Stanton and Walker were pro-slavery in conviction and from Slave-States, yet they were honest men and good Americans, who could not be driven or cajoled into assailing the primordial right of the People to self-government. Peace be to their ghosts.

Strangely unique and thought-provoking is the appearance of this fleeting, spectral procession of Kansas Governors and acting-Governors, no less than six in three years, rising and vanishing so rapidly and so insubstantially before our eyes. What can be the matter? All were caught in that everlasting Kansas mill now running at high speed, and were ground between its upper and nether mill-stones, between the legal which is not

right and the right which is not legal. Honest men they were, even if appointees of slavery, who came with a deep-seated delusion, very natural and true elsewhere, that legality is or ought to be also right and that illegality is or ought to be wrong. But they soon find that just the opposite is the peculiar case of Kansas, and, being honest, they at once start to rectify the difficulty, seeking to unite legality with right, harmonizing it with the Will of the People, its true source, and thus making it real. But that would undo the Slave-State cause which they, as Democratic appointees and Southerners, were sent out to uphold, but which rested upon just that phantom legality which they tried to put down. This phantom, however, being intrenched at Washington, is mightier than they are, and in the struggle puts them down. Thus the phantom, instead of being banned by the Governors, bans them, turning them into phantoms from actual living magistrates. For the Democratic Governor of Kansas must be governed by the phantom, and not try to govern it, which is gotten up at Washington and is manipulated thence in the interest of Slave-Stateism. If he dares disobey its behest, it will turn upon him and change him to a phantom, harrying him out of Kansas in a hurry. So it comes that every Kansas Governor, with the exception of Woodson, has perished in a fight with formal legality, which, though

a ghost, has shown the power of making him a ghost, and hunting him out of his official existence. And it may also be said of Woodson that he perished through a ghost, but this belonged to the other side, being a Free-State ghost, namely Robinson's anti-government, which we have already often seen as a phantom bodiless, but very real and man-compelling.

Such was the uncanny line of gubernatorial ghosts which stalked forth on the plains of Kansas to meet the incoming Governor just appointed by Buchanan. How this new Governor, Denver by name, received their salutation, is not recorded; but he could hardly help, though a brave man, feeling his flesh crawl during his journey through such a fresh-made grave-yard of his predecessors, and entertaining religious reflections on the transitoriness of earthly glory. But this is not all. He could likewise hear the strident cry of the counter-ghost, that phantom Legality, which had made ghosts of all these Governors, and which was defiantly shouting in his ear the words of Hamlet: "Unhand me, or by Heaven I'll make a ghost of him that lets me." So insolent had it become in view of its success in Kansas, but just this insolence prognosticates its approaching end. Mere Legality has had its ghostly day, and must be laid; the unholy strife between the law which is not justice and the justice which



is not law, is what must next be overcome. Law and Justice are not only to cease being enemies, but are actually going to get united again, and the reader, happy at the prospect, we hope, will be invited to attend the re-union, the first one of the kind in Kansas.

3. Accordingly we now come to what must be considered the final act of the Kansas struggle. Already we have noticed at Washington the last scheme of the Administration known as the English bill, which in substance offered a bribe of land to Kansas if she would accept the Lecompton Constitution. This bill, after considerable difficulty, was gotten through Congress, and was presented to the voters of Kansas for adoption or rejection. The interesting point here is that the ballot was to be both fair and legal, under the auspices of Congress, and even of the Administration which now for the first time drops its phantom legality, employed by it for more than three years, and accepts as legal the fairly expressed will of the People. Certainly this looks as if we were getting to the end of the long Kansas see-saw already so often described.

But what will Miss Kansas do, the refractory Western beauty? She gathers up her skirts and turns haughtily from such a debasing proposition; with scorn on her nostrils and vengeance in her eyes she flings the Bill-English bill from her



with a hurricane of votes (*vota*, here vows of execration), summing up more than 11,000 (exactly 11,300 out of 13,088). Such was her defiant and wrathful answer to all Washington, both Congress and Administration, for trying to buy off her honor. That was the end of their trifling with what she deemed her sacred virtue, in defense of which she gives them this slap which resounds through the whole land on that summer-day (August 2nd).

Congress makes a sorry sight of itself in this business, the only redeeming circumstance being that it gives to Kansas the first real opportunity for self-expression. And she certainly took advantage of the opportunity to speak her mind. Possibly some members supported the bill for this reason. The majority of them must have admired her indignation at their proposal, when the affair was over. There is no doubt that many a chivalrous gentleman of the South in Congress secretly applauded the act of Kansas, even if he voted for the English measure under the supposed exigency of party. Senator Hammond declared publicly at home in South Carolina that in his opinion "the South herself should kick that Constitution (Lecompton) out of Congress," and not leave the kicking to Kansas, and still less attempt to bribe her not to kick.

The act of Kansas in this matter was received

by the North not only with a mighty shout of applause, but with infinite amusement, yea merriment. The Folk-Soul itself had to laugh at that stinging but well-deserved slap in the face from the irate maiden. From every village and farm-house, from man and woman, rose great roars or little cachinnations of delight, which, being taken up and reverberated by that long line of sounding-boards, large and small, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, caused such a universal and overwhelming guffaw that the whole People rolled and shook in it as in an earthquake. Nor did it stop at once, for with that peculiar power of reproducing itself again and again which lurks in the laugh of the crowd, it would come back in repeated paroxysms and start afresh. Rarely has there been on this planet such a colossal fit of merriment, surely not since ancient Homer set all the Gods on Olympus, and with them, we must suppose, the whole Universe, to laughing, from which divine source has rolled down to the present in great undulations through the intervening ages the Homeric laugh, most famous thing of the kind and still contagious from the poet's song. Thus the American Demos in its vast theater bounded by two Oceans, and over-canopied by the blue Heavens for three thousand miles and more, split its sides at the representation of a national comedy, quite as that old Athenian Demos in its little walled-up

theater on the slope of the Acropolis roared like the little sea at its feet in response to the comic Muse of Aristophanes holding up its own picture to itself.

But the pivotal fact now is that the long tribulation of Kansas, threatening for years to become a tragedy, has reached its end in what may be called a national comedy with inextinguishable laughter. Thus the conclusion of the drama, after many a sorrowful stroke and hope long deferred, may be deemed happy, and the American People can turn to something else, for a mightier problem than the Kansas one has come up before them for solution.

## The People.

After this comic interlude, the People turn back into their serious vein, which always at the present time springs from some phase of the slavery question. The subject becomes intolerably wearisome on account of its never-failing presence in talk and writ; but it cannot be banished, cannot be crushed out, being the very theme and thought of the Folk-Soul in which every individual of the land participates. The impress of the Spirit of the Age cannot be wiped out of the brain of any rational man at will; there is no flight from the task of the time without a self-undoing.

1. In Kansas the moral element arose and was active, but it did not there reach its deepest tension. Her people had before them the problem of making Kansas, this particular Territory, a Free-State; beyond such immediate end the majority of them, being Douglas Democrats, and believing in Popular Sovereignty, hardly looked. But when the Kansas question passed outside the limits of Kansas and entered the Northern States, it deepened to the thought of making all the Territories into Free-States. There was no reason why Kansas should be an exception; in fact, it was only a special instance of the general

principle of Free-Stateism, which had now become conscious in the mind of the People. Such, indeed, was the chief fruit of the training which the North underwent through the grand Kansas discipline.

The doctrine of the exclusion of slavery from the Territories had already been enounced in the platform of the Republican party in 1856. The Dred Scott decision, however, declared the doctrine unconstitutional, and thus started a new and deeper questioning in the Folk-Soul of the North. What shall we do with our palladium of liberty, the Constitution, which we have so long loved and adored, if it makes slavery universal—not only nationalizes it but universalizes it, compelling the Union to be productive of Slave-States only? In some way that decision must be reversed—but in what way? That is indeed the problem which time is to solve, and toward this solution the movement now starts. Slavery is declared to be the universal law of the land, all enactments and constitutions of the single States to the contrary notwithstanding; Judge Taney has made the law, usurping or at least supplanting the legislative function. This drives mightily against the moral conviction of the North; the result is the conflict between the moral and the institutional in man, a conflict deeper and more desperate in its outcome than that of Kansas.

2. After these abstract statements, it will be well to glance at the great leaders of this rising movement, who are also aspirants for the Chief Magistracy of the Nation. In whom does the growing conviction of the Northern Folk-Soul most adequately incorporate itself? Now is the time for the hero to appear.

It is to be marked that Douglas voted against the English bill with the Republicans. He was now at the nearest point of his sweep toward Republicanism, in the middle of the bridge, as it were. He had quit defending the formal wrong, though he had not yet asserted the informal right. Will he go over? Both sides watched him with most intense interest. The inner circle of the South had come to hate him worse than they did Seward; he had divided their party and threatened their domination. Certain Republicans were getting their throats ready to hail him as a leader. Some New York newspapers began to forecast the new party, accepting his Popular Sovereignty and reverberating his name through the land as the coming Northern candidate for President in 1860. But he still has a little stretch of bridge to cross before he can reach the Republican hosts. Will he stop, turn back, or go on?

It is evident that Seward felt his chances for the coming prize to be jeopardized. He began to separate from his associates in the Senate, and voted against them on the Army bill and with the



Administration, saying "I care nothing for party." He gave as his reason for his vote: this battle is already fought; it is over. "We are fighting for a majority of Free States; they are already sixteen to fifteen, and before one year we shall be nineteen to fifteen." Here we catch a glimpse of Seward's view of the conflict: Which side shall dominate the Nation? So also the South conceived it. Seward likewise spoke favorably of Popular Sovereignty in his speech on the Lecompton affair. Clearly he is leading off somewhither; what is his motive? Certainly a breach is threatening the Republican party as well as the Democratic.

Both Douglas and Seward seem to be breaking from their old connections, and to be forming an independent following of their own. Could Seward be seeking to ingratiate himself with the Administration which so hated Douglas? There was maneuvering between these two astute politicians for the right position, which might be the key to 1860. But Douglas had a nearer motive: the election of an Illinois legislature this very fall (1858) to return him to the Senate. Illinois had shown a tendency recently to go Republican. His success was doubtful without Republican support. He had already won influential Republican newspapers and politicians in the East to favor his re-election to the Senatorship.

Seward called Douglas slippery, but Seward

was open to the same charge. Both were patriots at bottom, yet both were politicians, deeply versed in what is often called practical politics. Probably neither was personally corrupt in the use of money, but they had friends who were not so tender-conscienced, and at whose doings they connived. Both changed, shifted positions, and readjusted themselves to catch the direction of the popular breeze. Some excuse may be found in the fact that their time was a time of transition and of dissolution of parties, when everybody had to make a new alignment. Neither of them was a rigid moralist as to political means; both would probably say with Cassius: "In such a time as this it is not meet that every nice offense should bear his comment."

At this point when both parties and both their chief leaders seem to be balancing in a kind of equilibrium uncertain of their way, the man of destiny, Abraham Lincoln, appears and is soon to overtop both Douglas and Seward. Here we may emphasize by contrast his straightforwardness, which the popular mind caught up first of all, giving to him the title of Honest Abe, which title men never gave to Seward or Douglas, though they were not dishonest men, and though Lincoln too had his secrecies and subtleties.

The first struggle of the new issue before the People is to take place in the West on the soil of Illinois between Lincoln and Douglas, the two

ablest public men of the State. We may see Lincoln advancing to the keystone of the bridge where Douglas is standing and hesitating, stop his further advance, and indeed turn him around. For the two men and their doctrines are quite different, and soon get to be opposite. Kansas may (or may not) become a Free-State through the doctrine of Douglas, but it must be a Free-State through the doctrine of Lincoln—and not only Kansas but all the Territories. (See speeches of Lincoln, at Springfield, June 16, and at Chicago, July 10, 1858.)

At this point the world-historical career of Lincoln starts, and never drops from its lofty position until after his death; in fact it moves on an ascending plane from his first leap into the arena with Douglas till its sudden conclusion when it had reached its highest mark. Lincoln bids fair to become the most interesting character in all History to the People. He knew the Folk-Soul by long study and intimate acquaintance, he went to school to it during his earlier years; then he became its voice, its expounder to itself, whereby it grew conscious of its supreme purpose; finally it went to school to him as master, who brought to it a still higher message than its own.

3. We may also add, by way of contrast, that about this time the world-historical career of Kansas comes to a close, having enacted her

final scene in the rejection of the Lecompton Constitution. To be sure she will continue to have her local history, and a good deal of it, bloodier than at first; but it is not of universal import, it can no longer be recorded in the Book of the Ages, the great Presence leaves her when her unflinching grapple with slavery is over. Never since has she attracted so much attention, though she has sought to do so, nature even helping her to specks of transient fame by drouths, grasshoppers, and cyclones. Struggle has indeed continued in a small way, political fights, temperance crusades, and pitched battles over county-seats; but the stake has not been large, being local, not even national, still less has it been world-historical. Desperate have been the efforts of Kansas to keep herself great; but that has been shown to be beyond her power. Over her birth the World-Spirit presided, coming of its own accord and staying three years, as a kind of super-nal god-mother; then the task being fulfilled, it passed elsewhither on its errand, and seemingly has never revisited its god-child up to date, almost half a century having now elapsed.

But whither has it gone? We shall find it again, that being just the function of the World's History to follow it up, to trace its presence, and to record its doings. It is not going to leave the country; its hand must be seen directing the

movement of the whole Ten Years' War. It takes possession of individuals and inspires whole peoples; primarily it impresses itself upon the Folk-Soul, and impels the same to realize its far-reaching designs. But it is now done with Kansas, and so is completed the First Part of our American Iliad.

## Retrospect.

It is generally agreed that a peculiar force or energy lies in the early Kansas conflict just described; what is its nature? Can we catch the power which seems to be lurking and working in these tumultuous occurrences, hold it fast and give to it some kind of a shape? Here is indeed a tangled skein of events out of which the historic process must be evolved and formulated. And not only one but many of these processes must be seen unfolding, conflicting, and then intertwining into a supreme process which unites them all. Thus what may be called the historic organism rises into vision, defining itself in certain distinct outlines.

1. The reader will probably have observed already that we are not trying to write an ordinary historical account of matters cotemporaneous in place and successive in time, simply setting them down in their external order. Undoubtedly, the facts must be given, and given with exactness, but these spring up more or less separated, disconnected, whereas the mind must have connection. Hence we seek for *the Process* running through and interlinking these events which are in appearance consecutive merely, but really are rounding themselves out into a cycle



or indeed many cycles self-returning while going forward. Primarily historic happenings are successive in time, but secondarily they are moving in a Process also, which Process clothes itself in the ever-flowing folds of these on-sweeping events.

But this historic Process of happenings in time is by no means the end of the matter; it has a deeper purpose than itself, it reaches out beyond its own immediate reality, and has as its object the training of the People, of the associated Whole, into the new idea or conviction. We have often dwelt upon the historic Process starting from Washington, passing to Kansas and thence impressing itself upon the People. This is indeed the grand discipline of the Folk-Soul for its approaching task.

2. Repeatedly has there been mention of *the Folk-Soul* whose conception must be grasped. Every People may be said to have a soul of its own, a spirit which governs it, and which constitutes its essential character. Such an idea undoubtedly is derived from the soul or spirit of the individual man. In the American Revolution the Folk-Soul was united upon the separation of the colonies from the mother-country. But in the present epoch we have seen it dividing within itself and becoming dualized into Northern and Southern. Still even in this state of division

it is not without a strong impulse toward reunion, which will finally be brought about.

The Nation feels, thinks and acts as a unit, as one Soul or Mind, which animates its total organism. Many common expressions imply this. We often hear of Public Sentiment, or the People's Feeling on certain matters; then again, the Popular Will is spoken of, indicating what the Folk-Soul intends to do; Public Opinion signifies what the People think. All these terms imply a Folk-Soul feeling, acting, knowing, though it be made up of many individual souls, each of which feels, acts and knows.

3. But now comes the fact that there are also many individual Folk-Souls, many separate Peoples, each with its Folk-Soul on this globe of ours. These are in a process with one another, at least that is the case with many of them. They are, however, of very different values at different times; they rise, bloom, and decline in the course of History, which shows a line of ascent and descent in Nations. What is it that brings about these changes? Here we must glimpse an Energy regnant over the Folk-Soul and determining it, which we call *the World-Spirit*, the Supreme Power of History. Other names it has more popular, but more vague, such as Civilization, Progress, the Logic of Events.

This World-Spirit is what impresses itself on

a given people or Folk-Soul, and makes the same the upholder and defender of its purpose or idea, which usually takes an ethical form or becomes a moral conviction. A peculiar fact concerning this World-Spirit is its moving about from place to place, and its selection of a State or an individual as its supporter. It seems to find the People and the man who have become prepared for its work through their own free development. The command from without comes and can only come when the command from within has been already delivered. We have before noted that the World-Spirit leaves Kansas for another field when one great stage of the Ten Years' War has been completed with its special task.

4. But is there a still higher Power than the World-Spirit? Over it indeed must be *the Supreme Spirit*, the Universal Self or the Self of the Universe. The World's History is but one way in which this Supreme Spirit manifests itself to and through man. Other ways of its manifestation are through Art, Science, Philosophy, but especially through Religion, which has also its History, that is, its varied appearances in Time. Ultimately, then, Universal History, the record of associated man in the State or in the political Institution, must be traced back in its origin to the Universe itself as Ego, Self, Spirit, which creates it as one form of revealing itself and its processes. In fact the predicate, *Uni-*

*versal*, which is applied to History in its supreme potency, can only be derived from the Universe as creating the same. Thus the World-Spirit which presides over History, is but one form or phase of the One Spirit, that of the All. A full development of these somewhat remote and mind-stretching thoughts belongs, however, to a Psychology of History. For Psychology is now claiming to be the Universal Science (instead of Philosophy), which means also the Science of the Universe, of the All as Self.

5. One of the most significant parts of historical study is to find *the Transition*, the point at which one great series of events passes into another constituting what are usually called the Periods of History. These are the joints of the historic organism, so to speak, or the divisions of one great historic Process into subordinate Processes. Using psychological terms which express the ultimate conception, we may say that every important Period, as Ancient or Medieval History, is a Psychosis, which is still further divided into many lesser Periods, each of which again is a Psychosis. Thus we are to see that each part has a principle in common with its whole, else it could not be a part of that Whole. Still it is also different from its Whole, else it would not be distinctly itself. In this way each smaller historic Process or cycle becomes a link in the greater and greatest

historic Process or cycle, imaging and indeed producing the Whole of which it is a member and which produces it.

6. Returning to our special theme out of these generalities, we may study briefly the Transition from Kansas to Illinois, which now takes place and ushers in the Second Part of the great conflict. This Transition may be looked at from various points of view, or rather it shows different and deepening forms of itself. Of these we may note the following:

(a) There is the Transition (already observed) from a particular Free-Stateism to a universal Free-Stateism. Kansas struggled to make her special Territory a Free-State; she had enough to do at home in that matter. But her particular case passing into the Northern States was widened into the general principle of making all the Territories into Free-States, which principle found its expression in the Republican platform of 1856.

(b) The conflict in Kansas between the legal wrong and the illegal right has been often dwelt upon in the preceding account. Here it need only be said that this conflict also passed over into the Northern States, bringing to consciousness the sharp distinction between the Form of Law and its Spirit, and impressing upon the People their primordial right of making their own Laws and Institutions (self-government)

of which right Kansas had been deprived. Thus the popular mind has been thrown back upon itself as the original and the creator of the established order in which it lives.

Still in the Kansas conflict there was a point upon which both sides agreed, even if this agreement were largely unconscious: that was the legal right of the inhabitants to exclude slavery from their Territory. The Missourians when they seized by violence and fraud the Forms of Law, and used them in the interest of slavery, recognized the fact that the Kansans could employ them rightfully against slavery. Thus both sides acknowledged their validity and the struggle was, which side can get the Form and set it up as authority? So it came that one side exercised the legality without the right, and the other exercised the right without the legality. Both, however, impliedly agreed that the People of Kansas could vote down slavery.

(c) But now falls like a bomb into the midst of the contestants the Dred Scott decision declaring that neither the People nor Congress can exclude Slavery from the Territories according to the Constitution of the United States. Thus the Missourians did not really need to take the trouble of making their invasions, and of stealing the legal Forms; these already secured Slavery from the start. According to the Supreme Law of the land as interpreted by its highest Tribunal and



re-affirmed by the President of the United States, "slavery exists in Kansas as much as in South Carolina or Georgia," from the very fact of its being the national domain, on which the property in slaves must be protected like any other property.

It is plain that out of this decision a new and deeper conflict has arisen in the North where a strong moral conviction of the wrongfulness of Slavery has taken hold of the People. But through the Supreme Court slavery has become the all-dominating institution of the land, overriding every sort of enactment in opposition, be it of the State or of the Nation. Thus the inner moral world of the Northern Folk-Soul has been drawn into the most grating dissonance with its outer institutional world, of which conflict we are now to behold the leading phases.

## PART SECOND—THE UNION DISUNITED.

(1858–1861.)

During the present period the Nation was moving more decidedly toward Disunion than ever before or since. In the later Great War the mightier effort was in the other direction, toward the maintenance of the Union, even by force of arms. But now we are to witness an intermediate epoch of an emphatically separative character; the chasm between North and South, or between Free-States and Slave-States, starts to widening and deepening again after its apparent closing-up through the election of Buchanan. Hardly two years of his Administration had passed till it was everywhere felt in the land that a profounder disintegration had set in, which would end in complete dissolution unless arrested by an heroic remedy.

The anxious outlook of the time was voiced by

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one whom we now see to have been its greatest man, Abraham Lincoln. In a familiar adage he declares the situation to be this: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The American Union is now such a house, "divided against itself," and in this condition it cannot last. By the lapse of years the expression seems trite enough, but it was a bold utterance for a public man when it was first spoken, and Douglas will fling it at him many times in the coming Illinois campaign for Senatorship. Even Lincoln's friends thought it impolitic, though it expresses what every thinking man of every party was pondering over in a kind of secret dread, so that nobody liked to hear it said outright in public.

But Lincoln does not leave us with this gloomy prospect of national dissolution and death. In the same paragraph of the same speech in which he employs the foregoing apothegm of separation (Springfield, June 16th, 1858), he rises to a prophetic outlook and gives a forecast of the final overcoming of the division, which, however, may happen in two very different ways. This ever-memorable passage runs as follows: "I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the

opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States old as well as new, North as well as South."

Such is the opening or proem of the Lincoln part of the Ten Years' War which has been already going on three years. A prophetic utterance to whose fulfillment events are to whirl forward with a dizzying celerity; Lincoln has this element of prophecy in him which Douglas has not, the latter thinking that the Union must remain and ought to remain still half slave and half free. The People feel the truth of these words of the seer now taking the form of a stump-speaker, and respond with an open or often with a secret assent. In this statement Lincoln reads the Folk-Soul aright, and gives a voice to what is silently brooding there and seeking utterance. At this point Douglas fails to come into rhythm with the deepest throb of the popular heart; his ear is not attuned to the Aeolian whisperings of the World-Spirit. He says he does not care whether this Union be Slave-State producing or Free-State producing — which is the thing about which everybody cares most and has to care most, by the decree of the Gods. But Lincoln

distinctly recognizes the World-Spirit, listening to it and appealing to it in words as that "irresistible Power," which has taken hold of this American People and gives it no peace till it performs its supreme duty.

Moreover Lincoln has tersely stated in the above passage the fundamental fact of the whole situation: The Union "will become all one thing or all the other" — all slave or all free. The present intermediate, divided condition — half slave and half free — cannot last. One side or the other will make itself universal; the crisis has arrived, long foreseen, when freedom and slavery can no longer live in the same national household. Already there have been deep disagreements followed by temporary reconciliations called compromises. But the last compromise has been made and the current has set in strongly toward universalizing freedom or slavery.

That is, the North must be transformed by the South, or the South must be transformed by the North. The South has already begun to claim that all Northern enactments against slavery, that all Free-State Constitutions are nationally unconstitutional through the Dred Scott decision, and must be repealed. And that is by no means the whole of the matter. You, the North, must stop all agitation on slavery, you must put the free discussion of it under ban as we have; still further, as Lincoln declares, you

must surrender your moral conviction against it, and say it is right, as we do. Then we can stay with you in the Union harmonious, homogeneous, all acknowledging slavery to be "the cornerstone of our republican edifice."

On the other hand the North is determined not to have any such homogeneity, and has shown the fact in **Kansas**. Thus the two sides are planting themselves, front to front, in an alignment for the future. The North is clearly not going to let itself be transformed into the South in the matter of slavery; but it is not yet ready to take the more advanced step, which is to transform the South into itself in the matter of freedom.

Truly separation has entered the Folk-Soul of the Nation, making of it two Folk-Souls, Northern and Southern, each of which is getting more and more alienated from the other. The Union is no longer a unity of spirit, but the disruption has penetrated to the very heart of the Nation. And why? Let us recall the basic thought of this whole process: the one portion, the Southern, will produce Slave-States; the other portion, the Northern, will produce Free-States. Now the Union is State-producing as made by the Constitution; but this deepest function of it, the genetic, has developed into two opposing characters — it is Free-State producing and also Slave-State producing. Thus the genesis of



States, as the profoundest movement of History, the Constitution grasped, formulated, but also compromised — out of which fact has grown in seventy years this division with its bitter conflict.

Accordingly the separation of the United States into two great and antagonistic sections, North and South, is the all-dominating phenomenon of the present historic period, the difference turning upon the alternative: Shall slavery be kneaded into the one or out of the other? The inner Disunion is actually taking place, caused by the vitriolic intensity of the two sides of the problem. But we may also note that the counter-process has also begun, whose end is to eliminate this cause and to restore the Union. Yet each of the two contending sides has its own separate movement, which is, however, in strong opposition to the other side. Thus the American Folk-Soul is cleft in twain, and each part commences to have an independent life of its own. Such is the separation which has broken up the oneness and harmony of the Nation internally and externally, and which will pass from the totality into every constituent portion of the land. The division which we saw arising in Kansas has extended through the whole Union, and cannot be stopped while the present order lasts.

The result is the historic process undergoes a change. Kansas is no longer the special object

of irritation, the powers at Washington give up the attempt to coerce it into being a Slave-State. The whole South and the whole North begin to irritate each other, keeping the peace as yet, but having deep presentiments of the coming issue. Each side is wrestling within itself, in unconscious preparation for its destined work. Then they both come together in a preliminary contest, still pacific though full of menaces, — the Presidential election, whereupon the Great War breaks out, the inner strife becoming an outer reality.

Looking back to 1856, we observe that Kansas had divided the North into two political parties, Republican and Democratic; — but it had practically united the South, as no Republican party with its Free-Stateism existed in that section. The large minorities which even in Republican States supported Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, show a divided North which therefore was not yet ready internally for its task. The grand discipline is not complete, the Northern Folk-Soul must go to school four years more to the World-Spirit, ere it be fully panoplied within to march forth into action and to vindicate the American Union as producing Free-States only.

Already we have seen in 1857 a new division taking place, this also through Kansas. The Democratic party, which showed a united front in 1856, has become separated into two wings,

Northern and Southern. The breach which Douglas has made in the Democracy has rent the South more deeply than the North. His doctrine of Popular Sovereignty would permit Kansas to become a Free-State, which was the great object of the North. Thus his party and the Republicans reached the same end though by different ways. But this end was what the leading Southern element sought to thwart by every means, not even shunning violence. Still Douglas had many followers in the South, and so divided it, particularly in its more Northern portion. Thus it may be said that the North in 1858 shows a tendency toward unity within itself, and hence toward the Union, while the South has the opposite trend, manifesting separation within itself, with the consequent lurch toward Disunion. Besides, it is getting more and more evident that the Dred Scott decision has failed in its political purpose, which was to destroy the legality of both the Northern parties, since it outlawed Popular Sovereignty as well as Republicanism.

Through Kansas the North has been trained to assert that mother Union must be the bearer of Free-States exclusively, even though Slavery is not to be touched where it already exists by law. But the North is not yet ready to assume the vast task of transforming the whole South in reference to slavery; it shuns the burden, turns

away from its call, and palters for a time with its very destiny. But when through the attack on Sumter, the alternative is presented either to accept the division of the Union or to eradicate the cause of this division, the country enters a new stage of the Ten Years' War and the present period closes.

And now the historic process before mentioned which underlies and shapes the varied events of these three years (1858-61) is to be surveyed with due care. First we must consider the North and its inner character and movement; then the South and its inner character and movement; finally there unfolds the actual deed of Secession, with its first stroke in South Carolina. Whereupon suddenly the Nation, or a majority thereof, quits this period of division, and starts afresh toward Union, which it ultimately attains.

## CHAPTER I. — THE NORTH.

Territorially the North extends from Maine to California and embraces the Free-States. In this long line of Commonwealths, the conflict which we have been describing hovers about the middle; Kansas, for instance, is said to be the geographical center of the United States, Alaska being excepted. Still this center is now the border of settlement, and has generated the struggle which has evidently started on its march eastward, with Washington for its destination. Again the colonies sent out to the frontier, as in the old Greek time, begin the grand conflict of the age, which reaches back to their mother-states and involves these in the same trouble. The Kansas struggle passes to the rest of the country, and specially to Illinois where it shows itself in a new set of historic events, which are to be recounted next.

As already seen, the Border War, even though  
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continued, drops from its important place, having brought freedom to Kansas, and having made its principle of Free-Stateism that of a great national party. The issue is no longer merely: Shall this individual State Kansas be free? but it runs now: Shall all individual States hereafter entering the Union be free? The Folk-Soul of the North is still resolved to affirm, as it did affirm in the Presidential election of 1856, that the United States, in her supreme genetic function as State-producing, must in the future produce Free-States only.

But we must recall the heavy counter-stroke which has been dealt to this view and to the party which held it, by the Dred Scott decision. The National Judiciary has entered the contest and really usurps legislative powers, making slavery constitutional everywhere, not so much by its direct decision of the case before it as by its extra-judicial declarations (*obiter dicta*). Territories, and States too, have no power to exclude slave property. The Constitution is inherently the protector and also the generator of Slavery; under it no real Free-State can be brought forth, and indeed no State already free can so be constitutionally.

This is the new fact which the People of the North have to meet, producing a deeper rift within than was visible during the campaign of 1856. The highest tribunal in the land, perform-



ing its constitutional duty of interpreting the Constitution, declares that this instrument does not give Congress the power of excluding Slavery from the Territories. Thus the Supreme Court has put under the ban of illegality the Folk-Soul of the North in its vote of 1856. But its moral conviction in regard to slavery remains the same, or possibly is intensified by this attempted suppression. What is now to be done? Our conscience and our law have fallen into the most poignant contradiction, and yet both demand our obedience; the supreme authority within and the supreme authority without, both of them sacred and man-saving, have grappled in deadly antipathy, and are rending each human soul in their conflict.

Such is the problem which the Northern People are pondering and trying in some way to settle during these years after the Dred Scott decision. Our Constitution is made to throttle our moral conviction; our organic law crushes or is employed to crush our sense of right. What shall we do? Revolutionize, destroy our Constitution? Or shall we obliterate our Conscience? Neither way is possible; the Folk-Soul must have both law and right, it cannot do without Conscience or the Constitution, these being the two halves of its very selfhood. There must be a way of reconciliation, there must be some man to point out this way. Such a man now steps

forward, as if in response to the importunate cry of the agonized Folk-Soul: it is Abraham Lincoln whose early theme is, How to preserve the inner world of conviction along with the outer world of legality, of which two worlds the harmonious co-working has been so deeply convulsed by the decision of Judge Taney.

The People, from whose spiritual depths all government in the United States must ultimately issue, is, accordingly, turning over and over this great new problem, making up its mind before proceeding to ballot in the next Presidential election. The impress of the coming Order, with its supreme decree, usually takes an ethical form at present, and speaks as the voice of Conscience, of old regarded as divinely sent. This ethical impress the Folk-Soul of the North had received in regard to slavery, but had rather naively united the same with its Constitution, which, it took for granted, gave to Congress the power of preventing the increase in the number of Slave-States. But now the Constitution is declared to be just the opposite from its own highest judgment-seat; it is adjudicated to be inherently Slave-State producing and not Free-State producing, except by a kind of tolerated exception, but soon to be no longer tolerated. The result is the profoundest breach that ever plagued the soul of a nation in all the conflicts of History during the grand march down Time.

The moral man and the institutional man, both hitherto one and at peace with himself, is thrown into a state of inner war, which he has to wage all to himself through many a defeat and victory till the final triumph. Such a prototype of the coming outer war lies during these years in every human heart which deeply communes with the Spirit of the Age. Drinking of this Spirit, it becomes ethical, and feels the wrong of slavery; but this ethical wrong is legally a right, yea a right which is seeking to propagate itself even by force where it has never been acknowledged, thus making itself universal in the outer world and at the same time claiming a place, and an absolute place, in the inner sanctuary of Conscience itself. For its supporters have begun to affirm its rightfulness also and its divinely ordained mission.

This, then, was the task of the Northern Folk-Soul in which each individual soul more or less participated — a task set before it by the Dred Scott decision. A great training lay therein, truly of world-historical significance; this was to throw a bridge for all future time over the chasm between the moral and the institutional realms of man. This chasm has just at present made its appearance, at least its most definite and epoch-compelling appearance in the movement of History, and the problem imperiously demands solution.

With such a harassing conflict or rather double conflict, that between North and South and that in the Northern mind between Right as ideal and Law as real, we enter the year 1858, in which there are congressional and senatorial elections, though it is not a Presidential year. We are to conceive two Tribunals, each of which has rendered a decision upon the pivotal question of the time: one of which is that of the World-Spirit which utters its decree through the moral conviction of the individual; the other is that of the Supreme Court of the United States, which is voiced by Judge Taney. The highest happiness of a man and of a people is when these two decisions agree and re-inforce each other; but most unhappy is the time when they disagree and each threatens to destroy the other, though both belong to the complete soul, individual and national. The behest of the Spirit of the Age whispered inwardly contradicts the Law's enactment proclaimed outwardly.

The first duty of the Northern Folk-Soul is to bring itself into some kind of harmony with itself; it must conquer an inner peace before it can ever conquer an outer peace. It must be able to triumph over its own Disunion ere it can triumph over the Disunion of the South. It must come to see how the moral can be made institutional, and govern the man not from within alone, but also from without. Hence in these years

(1858–1861) we see a process going on in the North and begetting a profound inner struggle, which, however, is to clarify itself into reconciliation.

There is, then, the conviction that the production of Slave-States by the Union must be stopped. But how is this cessation to be brought about, particularly against the opposing decision of the Supreme Court? In what way can we preserve Law and Constitution, and yet be true to the behest of Conscience? Three prominent methods appear and are employed by different men, all of them having their place in this special History, and, as we think, also in the World's History. Typical men they may be deemed, incarnating a pivotal phase or thought of their epoch, more completely or at least more strikingly than other individuals. One of them is quite unknown to fame; another has a wide but perhaps waning distinction; the remaining man bears the greatest name which the Ten Years' War produced. Him we shall consider first.

## Abraham Lincoln.

Several times already the name of Abraham Lincoln has appeared in the course of the foregoing account. Previous to his campaign with Douglas, he could hardly be called a man of national fame. Still on a number of points he had shown himself a prime mover in the new party now forming; as its essential principle he had already formulated (in 1854) the exclusion of slavery from all the Territories a good while before Seward and the Eastern States had begun to move in the same direction. Moreover Lincoln's statement that a Union divided into "half slave and half free" cannot last, was four months before Seward's affirmation of the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, both utterances forecasting the struggle at hand as well as furnishing a rallying-cry for the rising party. Still further, Lincoln had not only to meet Douglas, but he had to conquer the great Republican newspapers of the East, especially the chief one, the *New York Tribune*, which openly favored Douglas and even proposed to accept Popular Sovereignty as the Republican doctrine, thus destroying its true universal character. This act of Greeley, however, is the beginning of his eclipse, he has



shown himself an unsafe guide in the deepest matter, and he will never again have the same influence after the Illinois campaign that he had before. Lincoln had to bring his own party in the East up to the mark — the fact which makes him the leader. More than any other man he formed and directed the political organization which made him President, fought the War, freed the Slave, and restored the Union as Free-State producing.

With the instruction of time it is getting to be very plain that the hero of our American Ten Years' War is not the fighter, not the military man, but the man of political life, the man of the State. From the Iliad down through Europe's famed events, the doer of warlike deeds has been the towering heroic figure. The matchless leader or director of the battle has inspired the epic lay. And History dwells largely upon Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon, of whom we are inclined to think when the greatest historic heroes of Europe are mentioned, though they all had their very important civil career. Even our own Washington was probably more of a military hero than civil.

But does it not indicate a great change in the Spirit of the Ages when the hero of the greatest war, and the commander-in-chief of its armies, is political rather than military? This lies deeply, we would fain think, in the American Govern-

ment, which is now the State-producing State, not State-destroying or State-conquering; hence the political element is far more dominant than in Europe which never had the State-producing State, but the State-subjecting State in one form or other.

I. In 1858 the conflict passes from Kansas to Illinois, and becomes an oratorical battle fought before the people between the two great protagonists of the North — Lincoln and Douglas. The World's History takes wings and leaves the extreme Western Border, where its decree has been fulfilled, or where, in old Homer's speech, the Will of Zeus has been accomplished; it moves eastward and crosses the Mississippi, hovering and circling over the prairies of Illinois, a new or derived State, not one of the Old Thirteen. Here is to be enacted the next epoch-making scene in the American Ten Years' War, the Olympian contest between the two strongest men of the land. The immediate prize is the Senatorship of the State, but the greater prize is the Presidency of the United States, and the yet far greater prize is the leadership in the approaching struggle which has to transform these United States, half slave and half free, into a wholly free Federal Union whose creative power is to be Free-State producing forever.

Lincoln in 1858 was forty-nine years old and had

received the experience of one term's service in the National House of Representatives during the Mexican War, after which he gave himself up to the practice of the law. During his earlier years he had tilled the soil, split rails, taken a trip down the river on a flat-boat, kept store, seen a little military service as captain of a company of militia during the Black Hawk War. This does not exhaust the list of occupations at which Lincoln tried his hand during young-manhood. Externally he was not successful, he was even called shiftless if not lazy. But there is no doubt that he was internally at work; he was communing with the People and learning their way of seeing and putting things; he was appropriating their stories, anecdotes, humor, and moreover getting a peep into their problems and anxieties. For Lincoln was also introspective, self-examining, with a profoundly moral nature which could become at times morbid. During these years, apparently aimless and profitless, he was going to school, kept by a peculiar invisible master, the Folk-Soul. With this master he became better acquainted than any man of his time, if not of all time, and remained on intimate terms with him to the last. Such is the book, too, which Lincoln studied directly, the Book of the People, not printed or printable, but rather the source and inspiration of all print worthy of being read. This Book of the People

he learned to read at first hand, and then he studied other books derived from this fundamental Book, namely the Bible and Shakespeare, which are really its very best productions in the English tongue. A mathematical book, Euclid, was also in his school course, partly for a professional purpose (Lincoln tried surveying also), but chiefly as a mental training to order and sequence of thought. Finally Lincoln absorbed profoundly the spirit of the Law, the established system of Justice among men.

II. Turning to Douglas we see physically and mentally the striking counterpart of Lincoln. The one was short, thick, stocky, yet rather quick in movement; the other was thin and tall, long-legged and long-armed, rather slow in his motions. The face of Douglas was full, rotund, smiling, lit up with good nature and a deferential condescension, showing a consciousness of being a popular man and of liking it well; Lincoln's sallow, bony, angular countenance was overspread with a look of melancholy out of which would flash unexpectedly gleams of fantastic humor and drollery, accompanied by anecdotes, jokes, keen repartees. He seemed to wear a tragic mask under which he played life's comic part, but the fact was, the tragedy was the reality while the comedy was the mask, giving him relief from the inner burden of his soul.

Douglas was four years younger than Lincoln, had entered Congress in 1842, and had remained in public station rising from the stage of Representative to that of Senator. He had matured more early and more superficially than Lincoln, who was a slow grower, probably reaching his highest ripeness about this time. But the deeper difference was that Lincoln had developed far more his inner life, freed from the trammels of office, while Douglas had led a political career, keeping himself in the public eye and outwardly adjusting himself to an official life from the time that he was a young man under thirty. The result was that the moral element of Douglas was not so fully developed; it was subordinated in him to the political element, in which he lived and moved and had his being. Hence it comes that in the political atmosphere of Washington, he, though a popular man, and indeed a man of the People, had lost touch with the Northern Folk-Soul in its deepest aspiration, which was moral. It is at this point that Lincoln showed his superiority from the start, showed himself to be in deeper communion with the Folk-Soul and its secret workings. Its response to Lincoln's words became stronger and stronger to the end of the campaign. The Democrats themselves often responded in secret heart-throbs, and there is reason to believe that Douglas, sitting on the stand near Lincoln

speaking, felt the thrill of the moral purpose of the Folk-Soul which Lincoln voiced back to its source, the People. It came of that "irresistible Power" which was abroad in the land and had entered every human soul, insisting that this question of Slavery cannot be indifferently dropped at will, but must be settled now for once and for all, before anything else can be done by this nation.

The two had known each other long, some twenty-four years, and had met often as rivals at the bar, on the hustings, and, it is said, in love for the same woman. Douglas had far outstripped Lincoln in fame and honor, and had roused in the latter a streak of jealousy perchance, or at least a secret feeling that the better man was not appreciated. For Lincoln had unquestionably great ambition, and must have felt his power and his call. Still that which shone out of the man and transfigured his conduct was his moral nature, which was early recognized and won him the title of "honest Abe." Now it was this moral element which brought him into harmony with the Folk-Soul of the time on the subject of slavery. Yet the conflict which sprang from it was intensely in him too, the conflict between the moral and the institutional man, between the right of the Conscience and the right of the Constitution. Lincoln felt both, and he had found not only for himself but



for the People a way out of the bitter struggle to reconciliation. This was the message which he had to deliver in the forthcoming political campaign, and which made him the voice of his Nation, and indeed of his Age.

Such was the man selected primarily by himself, but also selected by the World-Spirit for its task. Not a beautiful plastic figure as he rose to speak and stood there before the surging multitude, not an ideal shape which the Greek sculptor would love to model, but ungainly, big-handed, raw-boned, with body trained by the irregular but exacting toil of the frontiersman, not by the proportion-seeking, form-giving palestra. But if not beauty, yet enormous strength he possessed, whose test was not an Olympic victory against hundreds of competitors before assembled Greeks, but the ability to pick up a cask of beer and drink from the bung-hole before the admiring villagers. Surely an un-Homeric hero and an un-Homeric world; yet here too begins an Iliad with its burden and its woes sent of the Gods; yea with its modern hero Achilles, who if not now "the most beautiful of the Greeks" is by far the greatest leader of his People.

III. The State of Illinois had three belts of population, Northern, Middle, and Southern. The first belt (Northern) was settled largely from New England and New York, and had a very

pronounced anti-slavery sentiment. The Middle belt was much more conservative, having a considerable substrate of Pennsylvania Germans, who had moved westward on the same lines of latitude, with a strong infusion from the North as well as from the South. This part of the State was the uncertain one politically; it was now making up its mind, and was ready for argument. The Southern belt, composed almost entirely of emigrants from the South, was obstinately and nearly unanimously Democratic, called for this reason Egypt by the Republican press. It was evident that the Middle belt furnished the best field for making converts; the side which could win most votes there would be victorious. This fact is seen in the arrangement for the localities of the seven joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas; one took place in Southern Illinois, two in Northern, four in the Middle belt or on its border.

The scheme of Douglas was subtle: he sought to make Lincoln commit himself in Northern Illinois (Ottawa and Freeport) to abolition doctrines which were not in favor with the Middle and Southern belts. But Lincoln was evidently on his guard, and clung closely to the one fundamental principle of exclusion of slavery from the Territories. He held aloof from the doctrine of the Higher Law, and frankly declared that the South had a right under the Constitution to a

fair Fugitive Slave Law. What he said was not always palatable to the abolitionists of the Northern belt; but they had to vote for him anyhow.

On the other hand at Jonesboro in the Southern belt, he would probably not change many votes. Douglas nevertheless charged him with varying his doctrine according to the latitude, but this charge he repelled with success.

So the voters of Illinois are witnesses and also judges of a contest which has become world-historical. It is indeed a kind of Gigantomachia between the two mighty protagonists of opposing principles. Defeated for the Senatorship though he had a popular majority in the State, Lincoln really won the Presidency. This fact is often said to have been the result of the Freeport answer of Douglas to Lincoln's question: Can the People of a Territory exclude slavery against the wish of any citizen? Douglas declared they could through "police regulations" and "unfriendly legislation." By this answer the South is supposed to have been alienated from Douglas, though Illinois may have been won for him.

Be this as it may, Lincoln has in the present debate formulated with distinctness the principles of his party and given to it a definite purpose. This party is not going to perish through the Dred Scott decision, but rather reverse the latter. Nor is there to be a slump to Popular Sovereignty, which Greeley and the

East soon are brought to abandon. Nor are the extreme doctrines of certain abolitionists to be accepted. A derived State (Illinois) thus takes the lead, and in a manner reconstructs the old East-Northern States. Lincoln has proved himself the intellectual leader of the new movement, which fact is soon to have its practical fulfillment in his elevation to the Presidency.

IV. Some four years before this contest, Lincoln had entered what may be deemed a new period of his life. He was quietly engaged in his law practice, thinking that slavery, as he says, was "in the course of ultimate extinction," and that the great problem of the country was slowly solving itself, when he was roused by the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. Moreover there was a personal side to this act: it was the work of Douglas, his great rival, who had so far outstripped him in the political race. Now that rival, hitherto victorious and quite unsailable, had, doubtless in pursuit of the Presidency, thrown away a part of his armor, and rendered himself vulnerable. Lincoln seizes his opportunity, and makes a strong speech at Peoria, October 16th, 1854, against Douglas and his Repeal. This speech strikes the key-note of the time: the spread of slavery in the Territories must be stopped, and the Union must become Free-State producing.

This we may consider the beginning of a new

epoch for Lincoln, but Douglas could not be reached yet, as his Senatorial term had still four years to run. In 1855 there has been preserved a little speech of Lincoln's which was delivered, it is said, to two persons only, but which is very suggestive. "All seems dead, but the *Age* is not yet dead . . . the *World* does move. And now let us adjourn and appeal to the PEOPLE." These emphasized words indicate what Lincoln was deeply pondering over: the Spirit of the Age, the World's Progress, which must be embodied in the People, and through them realized. Lincoln's time, however, was not yet; in the exciting Presidential campaign of 1856 he does not seem to have done anything noteworthy, though he received in the Republican convention of that year 110 votes for the Vice-Presidency.

But in the following year (1857) occurred the Dred Scott decision which gave him the next great push toward his coming career. Accordingly he sets forth his views in a speech delivered at Springfield, Ills., June 26th, 1857, which was an answer to a speech of Douglas, made two weeks before in the same place, while he had not yet broken with the Buchanan Administration. Lincoln declared that the Dred Scott decision must be reversed, not by force but legally. The Supreme Court had repeatedly reversed itself. Moreover the People who had created the Con-

stitution and its Supreme Court, can constitutionally re-make both.

But the real conflict opens in Chicago, July 9th, 1858, with the speech of Douglas, who is now to fight for his political life with Lincoln, who is also on the ground and answers him the next day. Another preliminary tussle they have at Bloomington when Lincoln challenges the doughty Douglas to a series of seven joint debates, which have had such a lasting historical significance.

V. Douglas does not make the grand transition of his time in company with the World-Spirit, which we may formulate as the transition from special Free-Stateism to universal Free-Stateism. He would now have Kansas a Free-State, since it has so voted; but he would not declare that in the future all Territories of the national domain must become Free-States, and thus make the Union henceforth Free-State producing. He says he does not care whether Slavery be voted up or down in the Territories. When we recollect that even at this time a majority of Free-State men in Kansas were Douglas Democrats, and were just in the act of smiting with such unanimity and fury that fire-breathing dragon of their land called the Lecompton Constitution, we can imagine what a chill was sent through their hearts, as the words of their leader were



wafted to them on the winds from the prairies of Illinois: *I don't care* — don't care at all for what you care most. Such an icy blast soon made Kansas republican. And the hearts of the Douglas democrats in Illinois did care too, and felt the generous warmth of Lincoln's fervent appeal on this point, and many a one thawed out before the end of the campaign. For after all they likewise shared in the great movement of their time, and Lincoln became their voice, even if they were unconscious of the fact. So we have to say that Lincoln spoke far more powerfully to the Folk-Soul of his State than Douglas, and knew that he was saying the epoch-making word of his country and age.

As the debate advanced toward its close, Lincoln became loftier in thought and expression, and obtained a clearer view of the mighty forces at work of which he had become the chosen mouth-piece. His last speech, which was delivered at Alton, is the best of all his speeches, and of it the last part is the best part, in which he returns to and comments upon the paragraph of his former speech declaring that the Union cannot remain half slave and half free. He affirms that this agitation on slavery is not the work of the politicians seeking to get office, as Douglas had intimated. On the contrary there is "an irresistible Power" which is stirring the People and will give them no peace. It is not to

be stilled by just saying: Let us stop talking about slavery, stop being agitated. The People are lashed into this excitement by "a mighty deep-seated Power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring them up in every avenue of society — in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life" (same speech). What is this Power irresistible, mightier than the People themselves, which they have to obey, and which Lincoln seeks here to bring to utterance, thus making them conscious of the task laid upon them? Various names are given the Spirit of the Age, the voice of Humanity, the World-Spirit, yea God Himself, it is indeed "a Power irresistible," compelling the nation, even though unwilling, to do its behest.

There is no escaping, then, from this irresistible Power which seems to have its grip upon every human soul in the United States. But how does this Power manifest itself in the human soul? Through the moral conviction, through the sense of Right and Wrong. Here again Lincoln reaches to the bottom in a deep-toned passage: "The real issue in this controversy — the one pressing upon every mind — is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong." But even this latter class cannot avoid thinking

about it, being agitated over it, since they too are in the clutch of an "irresistible Power."

It is true that Lincoln clings simply to the prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congress. He does not propose to disturb slavery in the States where it is already established. And he maintains that the South has constitutionally the right to a Fugitive Slave Law, much as he dislikes it. He holds himself aloof from any assertion of the Higher Law, as opposed to the Constitution. Thus he shows himself through and through an institutional man, and thereby keeps himself in tune with the American Folk-Soul, whose very life pulses through its institutions, making them and being made by them. At the same time Lincoln is profoundly moral, appealing to the sentiment of right and wrong, whose impress is in the conscience of every individual.

Thus Lincoln aligns his party for the immediate contest. Still he has a vaster outlook, a larger hope, which he brings repeatedly before the minds of his hearers — nothing less than "the ultimate extinction" of slavery itself. This, however, is not to take place by revolution, but "it will be done peaceably; there will be no war, no violence." Moreover it will be a long time coming. In 1858 Lincoln saw the end of slavery and prophesied it, but it came with a rush and a crash which he never imagined. One of

his thrusts is that Douglas “looks to no end of the institution of slavery,” which was the imperative decree of the Spirit of the Age, as we all now see.

The question of freedom in the present issue bottoms on the question of labor, which fact Lincoln duly notes. The Free-State means the Free-Labor State, as distinct from the Slave-Labor State. The grand violation of human right lies in the spirit which (using Lincoln’s words) says: “You work and toil and earn bread, and I’ll eat it.” The negro, though an inferior, has that common right of humanity to the fruit of his own labor. As a slave he has no Will, since it and its products belong to another. Thus the speaker set the audience to thinking upon the fundamental nature of man himself, and to defining his freedom — not an easy task even for the trained thinker. In general, however, it was felt that free labor was the right of every man of every race and that this right must be secured to him by the State.

Putting these thoughts together into a kind of formula, we would say that Lincoln appealed to the moral conviction or conscience, which was the impress of the World-Spirit upon the Folk-Soul of the time. Moreover Lincoln in this regard was aware of what he was doing, and made the People aware of their participation in the great movement of the age. This he did in

such simple transparent speech, that few appreciated the depth of his thought till the Future with its commentary of events brought out his full meaning. At the same time he was well aware of the limitations of the moral spirit, of its danger of running to excess and becoming negative and anarchic. So he drew the line of justice on anti-slaveryism as well as on pro-slaveryism, as if he held the scales of the great Justiciary.

It may be said, therefore, that Lincoln has moralized the conflict against slavery, in contrast with Douglas, who does not care, and in contrast with the South which is its champion. On the other hand he has institutionalized this same conflict in contrast with Seward and the Higher Law, as well as in contrast with the New England extremists. Still further, Lincoln has shown a positive and pacific way toward the extinction of slavery, in contrast with a destructive and revolutionary way. Is there any representative of the latter? Who is he?

In response to the question a man steps forth who during this Illinois debate has been secretly planning an armed attack upon the Slave-States, a man who has already appeared before us several times in Kansas — old John Brown of Ossawatimie.

## John Brown.

It is at this point that we insert what seems hardly more than an episode or colossal object-lesson for illustrating the principles which are specially at work in the present Ten Years' War. This is the world-famous foray of John Brown into Virginia at the head of an army of eighteen men for the purpose of destroying slavery. The act gets its historic place and meaning when it is seen to be the negative side to Lincoln's way of treating the same question, as he outlines it in his debate with Douglas. John Brown is the antitype of Lincoln. While this debate was taking place in 1858, Brown was planning his first invasion of the South on a large scale, but he was thwarted by an untoward disclosure of his design. A year later he carried out his plan, which event in its results gave a startling confirmation to Lincoln's view. For that moral element which he had so decisively enunciated, and so carefully reconciled with institutions, breaks loose in John Brown from its moorings, and starts on its mad career, landing its follower in anarchy and bringing him speedily to the scaffold. If Lincoln's world-historical career from start to finish tells all future time *How to do it*,



John Brown's has just the contrary tenor, warning the ages *How not to do it*. There is no doubt, nevertheless, about the exceeding force and sublimity of this warning, so that not a few men of eminence have apparently regarded it as more significant than the actual deed of liberation—Brown's total lack of success being the grand success of the epoch. His career from Kansas to Virginia is indeed a drama of crushing power and reality, a true tragedy we may regard it, rounding itself out into a complete cycle of retaliation.

A retributive atmosphere hovers around John Brown, and gives him the breath of his spiritual life. This atmosphere he takes with him and is able to impart its influence to others who may be ready to absorb it. The law of Retaliation is his most coercive principle, often transforming for him the innocent into the guilty. He, a father, with his two sons, slew a father and two sons by the name of Doyle in the Pottawatomie butchery, not because they had committed any crime, but because they were pro-slavery in sentiment, and were selected by him to pay a bloody penalty. The God of Vengeance had decreed their death in return for the death of others, with which they had nothing to do. Did Brown ever think that Retaliation works both ways, and that it might come back to him from the other side, or perchance from

that invisible Nemesis which balances so impartially the deed of blood against the deed of blood, often with arithmetical exactness? The three slayers, father and two sons, slay themselves in slaying a father and two sons, to the eye of Retribution. That indeed will be the conclusion of the tragedy. Could Brown not see in his own wife and the mother of his sons, the wife and mother of the slain Doyles, and possibly hear her voice? That voice will hunt him out on the day of his doom, pursuing him even up to judgment, when two of his sons have fallen in death under his eyes, and he is about to tread the scaffold in bloody requital for blood. Thus the drama of John Brown will also have its Cassandra, whose tragic strain will rise up and float over the very gallows on which he hangs.

I. Already several times John Brown has appeared before the reader in the Kansas troubles, which undoubtedly nourished and brought to maturity the deepest element of his character, hitherto unrealized for want of a suitable environment. We have seen him protesting at Lawrence against the Wakerusa peace. After the Sack of Lawrence it has been noted how he starts out on his career of retaliation, whose first fruit is the butchery of the pro-slavery settlers at Pottawatomie, and whose second fruit is the bloody requital on the anti-slavery settlers at Marais des Cygnes. Revenge begets revenge,

and so Brown next invades Missouri from Kansas, captures eleven slaves, letting some slaveholding blood in the process, and lands them safely in Canada (March 12th, 1859), after eluding many attempts to take him on the way. This success now came to the aid of his former plan of freeing the slaves of Virginia, so that it turned to a kind of fixed idea from which his half-crazy soul was not to be swerved even by friends, to whom it seemed what it really was, madness. His answer was always, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" The Old Testament miracles were to be re-enacted in the Nineteenth Century, and he was their divinely chosen performer.

Brown was a Puritan of Puritans and of course his ancestor, Peter Brown, had come over in the Mayflower. Stern and unyielding on the main point, Brown could compromise on minor matters; indeed some of his transactions look as if he could play and say double in order to gain his supreme end. One of the most curious as well as obscure portions of his Kansas career is his dealings with J. H. Lane, who certainly was no Puritan, being notoriously loose in money matters, in private morals, and in telling the truth. Yet Lane and Brown agreed in one cardinal point: blood-revenge upon Slave-State men. Both were opposed to the peaceful means which Robinson employed. Lane proposed to

destroy the whole Lecompton Convention and to assail the United States Government, in which purpose he was foiled by the firm stand of the people of Lawrence. He got hold of the militia and established a secret order of thugs called Danites, through whom he hoped to put out of the way all his enemies, including Robinson. His ultimate motive is not clear, but it looks as if he aimed to precipitate a war in which he would be dictator. His great foe he deemed to be that peace which was beginning to dawn upon Kansas, whose troubles had attracted many restless spirits like him from the whole country. Of this element Lane was the born leader, who would not let the Furies of retaliation go to sleep on either side. Bloody carnage on the one hand, bloody revenge on the other, crimsoned the Border — the retributive outcome of those early Missouri invasions. It was a hideous carnival of the snake-haired Erinyes, born of the human demon when he gets to be gore-loving, the instigators as well as the avengers of the sanguinary deeds of men.

In these deeds there is no doubt that Brown participated with his own hands, and received an emphatic part of his training from that ensanguined Border. Like Lane he did not wish for peace, and was ready to lock horns with Uncle Sam, as we shall see by his later career. So there came about that strange coalition between

the Kansas Mephistopheles and the New England Puritan, far stranger than that other coalition in American History "between the Puritan and the blackleg," as John Randolph put it. There is little doubt that Lane used Brown as a cats-paw for stirring up trouble when things were getting too quiet. We can still see Mephistopheles eyeing the Puritan and taking his measure secretly: This is the man whose fanaticism I can use, even if it brings him to the gallows. But Brown never won Lane, Mephistopheles was altogether too shifty ever to get caught in such a scrape as that of Harper's Ferry.

In his own circle, however, Brown was an autocrat of the first water. Nobody could be right except him, freedom of opinion he could as little tolerate as could an Oriental potentate. He believed himself inspired of God directly; what can mortal man have to say against the Divine mandate? He was the old Hebrew theocrat incarnate; God alone rules and speaks, but of course through John Brown. Over a few he attained absolute sway, but on the whole he lacked power of co-operation with others.

II. There must always be made a sharp distinction between John Brown's method and his determining purpose. This purpose was the extinction of slavery, but his method was that of violence and violation of Law and Constitution. Thus his purpose was the same as that of Lincoln and



of the North generally, but his method was completely the reverse, since it was anti-institutional, assailing slavery in the States where this was established by law, and seeking to free all American Africa on the spot, utterly regardless of consequences. The whole institutional fabric of the country he would pull down upon our heads, acting under the conviction that slavery was wrong. This moral conviction was deeply shared by Lincoln, but his method was to keep morality from its inevitable negative bent by reconciling it with institutions, which it can come to regard as its greatest foe. Lincoln was a conscientious soul, if there ever was one, but he knew that Conscience could develop into the destroyer of Man and God, the terrible experience of which fact this age has learned through the anarchist, the conscientious destroyer of the institutional world and of himself. The deeply roused moral force of the North had its terrible danger: behold it embodied and sweeping to the deed in John Brown. A great object-lesson we may deem it, given in the school of the World-Spirit, of whom the Nation is now taking some preliminary instruction useful for its coming task.

III. The North, as a whole, recoiled with bated breath in a kind of terror from the image of itself or of a part of itself held up before it in John Brown. But what about the South?



Was there any object-lesson for it too in this school? John Brown's method was that of violence, regardless of the Union and Constitution, openly revolutionary. Is not the South threatening to employ the same method, though of course for a wholly different purpose? Many times have its leaders menaced the North with the dissolution of the Union unless their view of the Constitution was accepted, their will suffered to be done. John Brown is then a striking prefigurement of what lies deep in the Folk-Soul of the South; a picture, hideous she may well call it, yet painting in strong colors her very self on its negative side, yea prophetic of what she is going to do within two years' time. So soon will she turn John Brown herself employing his method to right what she deems her wrongs, invoking revolution as he has invoked it and at last getting the return of the Deed as he gets it even from her. Nor can we help taking a special look at Virginia, more than any other State the mother of the Union, whose soil has been invaded by John Brown, and who has to try him for his deed. "Guilty of treason," is the verdict of the jury, and the man of guilt is sentenced to be hung. The trial Brown himself pronounced to be fair, and his act duly meets with justice according to the law. But now comes the question: Will Virginia herself ever be guilty of treason? Will she too be

brought to defy and to assail with arms the Union and Constitution, thus becoming John Brown in her turn? The act is done, and the history of it is recorded and known to all the world. Virginia will herself enact the same deed whose doer she now hangs, and quite all the leading men here present executing Brown as traitor will turn traitors themselves, using essentially the same means but with a wholly different end, and most of them will perish in the shock of the conflict they themselves have generated. Could Virginia but look into her own soul, as she gazes on the execution of Brown, and there behold her own possible self germinating in the future deed! But that gift seems to have been denied to her and to the South as well; she could not see her negative part incorporate in John Brown, though the North saw its negative side in him and realized the danger. The South had no leader like Abraham Lincoln.

Some 2,000 Virginia soldiers were present at the execution of Brown to prevent any attempt at rescue, which the prisoner himself did not wish. Who were some of these men? The Governor of the State was there, Wise, and also his son, who was a Colonel of a troop, and who perished in the war against the Union. Wilkes Booth was there as a private in a Richmond company, the future assassin of the President of the Re-united States. Robert E. Lee was there and was the

military head, the future commander-in-chief of the armies marshaled against the United States. It may be said that those 2,000 men, with a few exceptions, have it already in their hearts to do what John Brown has done, are themselves unconsciously John Browns in spirit and will soon become such in the deed. One cannot help querying about these troops marching and countermarching with drums beating and colors flying in serried lines around John Brown's scaffold: Is there a single soul of you who has any presentiment of what you are doing and of what you really are? Is there one among you who has faintly whispered to himself amid the tramp of feet and clatter of arms: I feel John Brown lurking in me, and see his flitting ghost entering my very soul and installing itself there in spite of myself. I on my part am getting ready to do what he has done, and I am to receive the penalty which I inflict upon him for that deed.

Here we catch a glimpse of that approaching tragedy of Virginia which makes her the most conspicuous figure in the war, with the one great exception, Lincoln. Without question the most influential State in the Union politically, the most productive of Great Men as builders and defenders of institutions in the infancy of the Republic, she is now at the turning-point of her career, and is becoming anti-institutional, getting ready to assail what she once built up. The

truth is soon to be made manifest that she has already brought forth a new set of Great Men, not statesmen now but soldiers, the one seeking to tear down what the other has constructed.

Nor would this thought be complete without mentioning the awful Nemesis which will smite her, slaughtering her sons and rendering her desolate. Is she not now punishing with death the treason, that is, the anti-institutional deed of John Brown? Can she read the lesson which she herself has written in blazing letters on that scaffold: Whoever doeth thus will suffer likewise? And there lies the tragic guilt of Virginia; the law of her own deed declared here in the punishment of John Brown, is what she is going to violate, and of which she will suffer the penalty. The execution of John Brown means more to Virginia, is more deeply connected with her destiny than it is with that of the North. Her own tragic doom is foretold in the very justice which she so dramatically executes upon John Brown. And when the scene had passed away, and her troops had gone from the execution to their homes, the deepest problem of her existence was graven upon her heart: Shall I ever do thus and provoke from the Eternal Powers my own penalty?

It is true that many Virginians have said and still say and seek to prove that their people com-

mitted no treason in the act of secession and war. Of course they define the term *treason* in their own way. But Virginia certainly engaged "in levying war against" the United States, "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." (Constitution, Art. III, Sec. III, Cl. I.) Some have even denied that the conduct of Virginia and the South was revolutionary; really, it is said, they were seeking to preserve the Union by overthrowing it. But the terrible penalty of their deed permits no such interpretation.

IV. There will always be two opposing judgments, two at least and perhaps more, upon John Brown, that of the moral and that of the institutional man. He will be a hero to the mind which is limited to itself as the absolute determiner of conduct, against the established social and political order. On the other hand the man who believes in institutions can never believe in John Brown. Kansas would have been a Free-State, and the war between the North and the South would have been fought, if he had never lived. And yet he has his place in the movement. His fate gives its color, though not the direction to the events of the time. It clarified the Folk-Soul not simply upon what was to be done but upon the way in which it could be done with success. It compelled every thinking man in the North to distinguish between



the two kinds of opposition to slavery, the one through and the other against the Constitution. Two opposite ways or methods, we may deem them, the positive and the negative, or the institutional and the anarchic. The People became conscious of both, weighed them and emphatically chose the institutional way. A great training lay in this, an object-lesson we have called it, whose result was seen in the platform of the Republican party the following year, denouncing the lawless invasion of any State as “among the gravest of crimes.”

The South ought to have taken the same lesson, having the same need of it on its side. It punished John Brown for violation of Law and Constitution, which surely ought to have warned it against committing any such violation itself. And yet strangely that is just what it will do. Such a difference develops between the two sections in regard to the great object-lesson of John Brown held up before both by the World-Spirit. The one will pursue its end (the delimitation of slavery) constitutionally, the other will pursue its end (propagation of slavery) anti-constitutionally. The South in its method, though not in its purpose, takes John Brown as its model — a thing which the North very decidedly refuses to do. Even the prophecy has been uttered that the South will yet raise a monument to John Brown as her deliverer at



Harper's Ferry on the spot where she once executed him as a felon. Such a result seems not very likely at present; still the Southern soldiers, marching on Washington and seeking to destroy the government of the Constitution and Union, could have sung with quite as much propriety as the Northern soldiers the famous refrain:

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,  
But his soul goes marching on."

Even the history of this song bears in it the tragic note of Nemesis which the song itself so impressively utters, and those from whose hearts it first gushed forth in exultant strains had the strange lot of giving a most striking fulfillment in their own destiny of what they sang. It is said to have originated in the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, whose Colonel was Fletcher Webster, and to have burst out in a kind of irresistible spontaneousness, when these New England soldiers trod the soil of Virginia at Alexandria, when the locality and the events called up the old Puritan in the minds of these children of the Puritans. But the song of Nemesis was also sung on the other side, not in the same words but certainly with tremendous effect, as the following record shows: This Regiment, which marched down the streets of Boston 1060 strong going to the war, returned home at the end of

their service with some 80 men, their Colonel, the son of Daniel Webster, having fallen on the field of battle. At the view of these survivors the song of John Brown gets a new meaning; in its universal import it is seen to embrace both sides, and his soul which goes marching on, becomes the vengeful image of that tragic Nemesis who washes out national guilt impartially in the blood of the Nation.

V. The North did not wish to adopt John-Brownism, unless driven to it by the South. Lincoln certainly desired the ultimate extinction of slavery, but its Destroyer was to be evolution, not revolution. Still violence had to be met by violence, and war brought him at last to the point of saying that "measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the Nation." He was pushed to the point at which he saw that he had to violate the Constitution in order to save it — violate it in part or in a clause to save it as a whole with the Nation behind it. Who pushed him to such an extreme? The South with its armed resistance to Law and Constitution, with its John-Brownism, as we may call it in this connection, which compelled Lincoln very unwillingly, as all now acknowledge, to resort to a counteracting John-Brownism. In this as in everything the North followed him, since he

drew the very breath of his words from the Folk-Soul, which mightily responded to both his speech and action. So the Northern men sang and had to sing of John-Brown's soul marching on, since the great majority of them recognized his end to be theirs from the beginning, and then finally recognized that they had to resort to his method also, in part at least, being forced thereto by the South's precipitate John-Brownism, after many shirkings and turns and attempts to compromise.

So we have to grasp the relation of John Brown equally to the North and the South, and to their respective armies, both of which may well have seen his disembodied spirit stalking through their ranks on the field of carnage. As the ghost of Cæsar rose up and spoke to Brutus before the battle of Philippi, indicating that the soul of mighty Julius still was marching on, though his body lay mouldering in the grave, and saying that he was an "evil spirit" to the cause of those who had slain him, so the bodiless spirit of John Brown, if not actually beheld, was heard singing through the voices of thousands of embattled men, and in that way appeared to both sides in a kind of ghostly presence.

And yet we see that the march of John Brown's soul is not that of a Preserver, but of a Destroyer. His spirit is still like that of Shakespeare's Cæsar "ranging for revenge" with

the fierce Nemesis of wrong, "like Até hot from Hell" also letting slip "the Dogs of War," which will lap the blood of both sides to satiety. Thus can his destroying wraith be laid. And thus John Brown, steeped in the Hebrew Prophets, becomes himself a prophecy of wrath for North and South. He has a world-historical importance as forecasting and embodying the destructive, tragic element of the Great War, in contrast with Lincoln who represents its preservative, positive element, which was at last to save both sides from the bloody jaws of their own devouring Nemesis. Since the close of the Great War bringing peace, reconciliation and a restored Union, the John Brown cult has sensibly diminished with the clearer insight into the historic meaning of his appearance and performance. Even Kansas which once saluted him as Liberator, and was ready to take him as its Hero, appears to be getting less addicted to John-Brownism, as it grows older and more rational. But who can tell? Kansas is peculiarly the stalking ground of John Brown's ghost, which seems to love its old haunts during life, rising and re-visiting the scenes of its first achievement on the least provocation. His soul begins again marching on out there quite readily still, though the tendency is to lay the perturbed spirit of the old slavery-killer, slavery itself being dead, and the borderer having vanished.

VI. In Europe John Brown has stirred kindred minds to warm eulogy. Of these Victor Hugo is the best known, a genius Titanic but certainly not well-balanced. He looks upon Brown as a kind of Christ, prophesies the disruption of the American Union in consequence of Brown's assassination, prefers the failure of the martyr to the success of the patriot, and hence takes Brown rather than Washington as his hero. The only thing that need be said in reply is that Hugo has here delivered the most stinging criticism upon himself, not only as prophet but as poet. The greatest bards of the ages are positive and have a positive theme; but Hugo's song in its deepest phase can only be the apotheosis of Negation, and celebrate the Destroyer. He is no world-poet like Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe; in fact the latter's *Faust* contains essentially all of Hugo's destruction, with the construction in addition. So the famous French poet has very effectually, even if unintentionally, put himself down into the second rank of poetical genius, and his place there may be warmly contested. His admiration is for the hero of *How not to do it*, while the great man who succeeds in doing the great thing, suffers thereby an obscuration of his glory, which would have been complete, had he only failed.

The leading thinkers of our land at that time lived in New England, and were quite confined



to the group of Transcendentalists, who were opposed to slavery. These spoke of John Brown as the Saint, the Prophet, the Hero, an Angel of Light. Emerson thought he would "make the gallows glorious like the cross," and thus be a second Christ — which prediction of the seer of Concord still awaits fulfillment. These men dwelt in a peculiar dream-land about Boston, coiners of splendid phrases, brilliant writers and rhetors, having developed a greater individual culture than anywhere else in the country if not in the world. As they, like so many New Englanders, were born talking and writing, they have left us their John Brown dressed up in a great variety of variegated speech, which must be taken as the expression of the best and most original minds that New England has produced. With all its excellence it has no note of nationality in it, no appreciation of institutions. It shows the moral spirit indeed, but in all its narrow pinched-up individualism, which needs and seems to be calling for some great liberator who will lead it out of its own self-built prison walls, the most adamant of all fortresses. Very different were the homely words of Abraham Lincoln addressed to the yeomanry gathered round him on the prairies of Illinois. Their world-historical import has been already set forth. But the fact must here be brought out that the War with its leader Lincoln performed a great act of



spiritual liberation for New England. Though it deemed itself emancipated completely, it needed a new emancipation in its way as much as the South. When the leader gave his call for troops against rebellion, disunion and secession, New England responded at once, for her people were at bottom patriots and good Americans, even if it can be shown (as some Southern writers delight in doing) that New England was the original home of rebellion, disunion and secession. But all this, if not exactly vanished, could be blown off in talk, that ingenious safety-valve of democracy from old Athens down to the present, which safety-valve was always at work puffing away in Massachusetts relieving itself of its inner earthquakes. Still it must be recognized that the call of Lincoln, sounding the key-note of the Nation's crisis, stirred in the New-Englander a deeper strand than his abstract moralism, than his negative John-Brownism (not wholly without value, however, we hold), a deeper strand than he was probably aware of, for his deed shows his spirit breaking out of its prison of mere moral individualism and provincialism, and becoming national and institutional. That was a real emancipation surely much needed, and we know that its leader in deed and word was Lincoln.

The Garrisonians were the one chief, but very noisy exception. Wendell Phillips called Lincoln

a slave-catcher on account of his attitude toward the Fugitive Slave Law. Garrison declared the Constitution to be an agreement with Hell and a covenant with death. At Framingham, Massachusetts, he, surrounded by a crowd of applauding followers, publicly burned the Constitution of the United States. His paper (called the *Liberator*) opposed Eli Thayer and sneered at the Emigrant Aid Society, preferring disunion to the freedom of Kansas in the Union. These people always claimed that their purpose was to rouse the moral spirit, so that they too must be considered an off-shoot of Puritanic moralism. Their faith in words was absolute, for they advocated mere agitation, asserting non-resistance. They praised John Brown, for he too was a disunionist and anarchist; still he differed from them as he believed in the deed. Attending a meeting of Abolitionists in Boston not long before his start for Harper's Ferry, he complained that they were all talk, whereas the time needed action.

If we take Emerson as the best type of man which his people and section have brought forth, we have to think that New England could not have produced Lincoln, though it could and did give us John Brown. Lincoln belonged to the Derived States, not to the Original Thirteen, to the new not to the old. He sprang from and specially represented the West-Northern part of the Union, which at his call rose in a mighty mass

of living valor, swept down the Mississippi and opened the great river to the sea, then wheeled eastward and pushed on to Chattanooga, to Atlanta, to Savannah, till it came up in the rear of Richmond where it found the two sides of the Old Thirteen still facing each other, quite as they had been doing for four years. Whereupon came the end, but with it the question, What does it all mean, this vast circular sweep of the Ten Years' War? Let our reader bear the question in mind, for an answer cannot yet be attempted, though he may well keep before himself the image of the old States remaining substantially on one spot during the whole contest, and of the new States continually moving forward around the circumference of the Union till they embrace it completely.

VII. We must cast a final look at John Brown during those last days when the scaffold awaits him in Virginia. Did he have some perception, even if dim, that his own law of retaliation had come home to him in the penalty which he was soon to suffer, and in the death of his two sons slain in the fight? That is a secret which probably went with him to the grave, though the thought of it lay so near. Did he have any special reminder to turn such a look inwards? Here comes a letter addressed to him — from whom? It is signed by Mrs. Mahala Doyle, whose husband and two sons were called out of their

home at dead of night and slain by Brown and his two youngest sons at the Pottawatomie massacre (evidence of Townsley, now generally accepted as the statement of an eye-witness). Her words still sound like the very voice of Nemesis proclaiming from the skies and exulting in the return of the blood-stained deed upon its guilty doer. "I confess," says she, "that I do feel gratified to hear that you were stopped in your fiendish career at Harper's Ferry, with the loss of your two sons. You can now appreciate my distress in Kansas when you entered my house at midnight and arrested my husband and two boys, and took them out in the yard, and in cold blood shot them dead in my hearing." Thus the John Brown cycle of gory retaliation has completed itself, and has even been voiced in a strain like that of the Last Judgment by the bereaved wife and mother. No Greek tragedy imaging the sanguinary requital of the Furies of the wicked Deed, no Greek legend fabling a Thyestean banquet of blood-thirsty vengeance can equal the historic reality of John Brown's drama of retribution from its Kansas inception to its Virginia conclusion. (The letter of Mrs. Doyle, dated Chattanooga, Tennessee, whither she had returned from Kansas, is printed in Robinson's book, *The Kansas Conflict*, p. 399).

Thus the tragedy of John Brown winds up with its Cassandra, in her furious but exultant

words voicing over him and his family what he has done to her and her family, and driving home to the reader, if not to John Brown, the outcome of retaliation. More she is than Cassandra, who never suffered in her own person as wife and mother what this woman has suffered with the keenest poignancy of the human heart. So that old song of Troy insists upon bringing back its deeds and characters, even if transformed, and repeating them in our American Iliad, also full of woes.

VIII. But this American Iliad of ours does not end with John Brown's tragedy and its voice of Cassandra; in fact only the beginning thereof has been made. A new phase of the great problem has arisen, which neither Lincoln nor Brown has met — neither Lincoln's exclusion of slavery from the Territories nor Brown's invasion of the Slave-States. It is an immediate emergency to be faced on the spot by the man then and there present, without waiting for Lincoln's gradual extinction of the system or the result of Brown's distant incursion.

What is it? Here he comes, the panting fugitive right across our path, having reached a Free-State, probably after many toils and dangers, with that deepest human instinct beating in his breast, the instinct of liberty. Behold, the bloodhounds are on his track, the slave-catcher is about to seize him, and take him back



to a more bitter enslavement, supported by that Fugitive Slave Law to which Lincoln said the South had a right under the Constitution. But tell us, O Lincoln, sympathetic soul, what will you do when you see that sorely pressed fellow-man running past your office in Springfield toward freedom — will you run after him and help capture him? Certainly you will hesitate. But the Marshal is here and commands you, having this right by law. The problem in its keen intensity was never brought home to Lincoln in Illinois and did not rise in his great debate with Douglas. But it came up with an overpowering energy in many places of the Free-States, reaching as far north as Boston in the East and Wisconsin in the West. It is a new, more intense and more passionate phase of that same well-known conflict between legality and conviction, between the Constitution and Conscience. Moreover, it passes to a new field, to a new State, out of Illinois and Virginia. The chief scene of this present form of the struggle was Ohio, though it was taking place sporadically throughout the North.

And the new man appears representing the new problem, and embodying in himself its fierce collision with authority. Also he gives to this problem his solution, seemingly the only one possible under the conditions.



## Simeon Bushnell.

In this process of the Northern Folk-soul we are going to place with Abraham Lincoln and John Brown, most famous men of their period, the name of a man almost unknown hitherto in History, certainly not known in the World's History. Of him our reader has probably never heard. But it so came about that he, an humble toiler in a small town, was chosen for a brief moment to be the upholder and the representative of the grand cause pending before the Tribunal of the Ages. He had no far-sounding voice echoing through Space and down Time; no splendid gift of any kind; still in him and through him was embodied an act which makes him, more than any other man we know of during this particular epoch, the visible though momentary appearance of the World-Spirit incarnate, whose presence is now to be called up illuminating and transfiguring the mortal form of Simeon Bushnell, an unpretentious workman of Oberlin, in Northern Ohio.

His short career illustrates a new phase of the prevailing conflict between morality and legality. The individual now recognizes both commands, the inner and the outer, even in their contradiction; he feels compelled to violate one

of them, though he acknowledges it to have validity, and stands ready to take the penalty of his violation. The soul becomes the tragic arena of the mighty collision of the time; the very self of man splits within and turns into two warring selves which reflect the struggle of the Nation. Such was the internal conflict which the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law called forth with greater or less intensity throughout the North, and was by no means unfelt in the South, for many a Southerner and Slaveholder refused to pursue runaway slaves, even his own.

After the passage of a new Fugitive Slave Law, that of 1850, much more strict and offensive in its provisions than the old one of 1793, an era of slave-hunting on the part of the South began in the North, and extended through the Fifties, rousing an ever-increasing hostility. It provoked the strongest inner protest, which often drove men to action, causing them not only to help their fleeing fellow-man, but to rescue him if he happened to get caught. These rescuers were not ordinary law-breakers, but usually conscientious citizens of the best standing. Thus the Fugitive Slave Enactment became the means of pushing the two Laws, moral and statutory, to their sharpest point of contradiction. The Constitution of the United States undoubtedly provided for the rendition of

Fugitive Slaves, and Congress was endowed with the power of making such provision effectual through appropriate legislation. On the contrary, the Conscience of the time had risen to a state of strong opposition to such an enactment, and was ready in many places of the North not only to disobey passively, but to violate actively its injunctions. The South or rather the Oligarchy, however, was the more determined to force the odious measure upon the North, with that feeling of domination which had grown to be the salient trait of its character, and with the belief that the test of its long maintained supremacy lay in the act of compelling the North to chase down and return to captivity its fleeing bondmen.

The chief scene of these attempts was Ohio. Two Slave-States, Kentucky and Virginia, adjoined it, furnishing a very long boundary line over which the fugitive could easily escape into freedom. Then its people as a whole were known to be anti-slavery, and it was seamed from the Ohio River northward in all directions with the Underground Railroad, a popular name for that system of organized help which conducted the fugitive from one place of safety to another. Here we may note the reason why the present phase of the time's problem appears with such little emphasis in the otherwise epoch-making contest between Lincoln and Douglas. Illinois had also an extended boundary line along two

Slave-States, Kentucky and Missouri, with corresponding opportunities for the escape of fugitives. But Illinois was known to be unfriendly to the black man, its early law not permitting him when free to settle within its borders. Then the Southern part of the State, which the fleeing slave would ordinarily have to pass through first, was rabidly anti-negro, if not pro-slavery. So it comes that the Fugitive Slave Law, lacking material for fire, never became a burning question in Illinois, and barely rises to the surface in the discussions of Lincoln, who held that the South had a constitutional right to it, though he denounced slave-catching as “a dirty and disagreeable business which the slaveholders would not do for one another.”

But if Ohio is the chosen State, the Northern part of the State, called the Western Reserve, is the chosen part, and in this Western Reserve one small town is the chosen spot, where the fullest and most complete manifestation of both sides of the conflict between the two Laws, the moral and the enacted, is to be witnessed. Oberlin was primarily a religious community, devoted to the cultivation of the inner life and to revivalism; then it became strongly anti-slavery, and, being a college town, took a vast stride into the future, proclaiming that every human being has the right to be educated, and educated in the society of his fellow-beings, without re-

gard to difference of race or sex. White men and women, black men and women, were all associated together in the same classes, pursuing the same end of their common humanity in the attainment of a free spirit through education. In this regard Oberlin College, though not specially erudite, occupies a very lofty and advanced position in the history of pedagogy, being the first school of national importance that ever took such an attitude, heroic then even in the North, not so difficult now. But at present it is her political history with which we are concerned.

Oberlin was the very home of the Higher Law, of the deification of Conscience, which in her religious speech was called the voice of God, or more emphatically the Law of God. This Conscience it was which abhorred Slavery not only as a wrong to Man but as a sin against God. On the other hand Oberlin kept her citizenship, nay her patriotism; she rejected Garrison, and did not follow the revolutionary method of John Brown. It is a curious fact that Brown was employed by Oberlin College in 1840 to survey some Virginia lands, in which it had an interest. These lands were situated in a county along the Ohio River, and it is said that Brown formed his first plan of invading Virginia during this tour of surveying. He observed the mountains and their fastnesses, thinking that they would be a

refuge and a protection for a small band of whites and an army of runaways. Brown imagined then, as he did nineteen years later at Harper's Ferry, that the slaves, as soon as the presence of a deliverer became known, would flock to his standard from every quarter of the South. This was his great delusion in regard to the negro's character, which delusion however was shared by the North. And the strange fact is that it was shared by the Southern slaveholders if we may judge from their terror of servile insurrection so often and so passionately dilated upon by their orators. Yet the slaves during the war never rose, never as a body even ran away from their slavery, when both opportunity and incentive, one would think, were not wanting. It is evident that the pivotal point of Brown's scheme turned on an element in the darkey which he did not possess, even if Brown succeeded in getting five negroes to take part in his invasion, one of whom hailed from Oberlin, and, having been taken prisoner, was tried and executed.

Oberlin naturally came to have a large population of colored people who gathered there for the purpose of protection and of education. Accordingly it became a secret haunt of slave-catchers, who were watched in turn despite their precaution. One of these man-hunters succeeded in decoying a fugitive out of town, and carrying



him off to a neighboring railway station, where he was rescued by a small army of pursuers, chiefly Oberlinites. This took place September 13th, 1858, while Lincoln was in the midst of his debate with Douglas, which did not broach the Higher Law, but turned upon the question of keeping slavery out of the Territories, and thereby of bringing it slowly to an end through Law and Constitution. On the other hand John Brown was at this time active, seeking to put into operation his revolutionary plan of destroying slavery at once by a direct invasion, he also claiming to act in obedience to the Higher Law, or the command of God in his own heart. The Territories were at a distance from Lincoln, and the Slave-States were at a distance from Brown; but at Oberlin the fleeing slave has brought to every man's hearth and heart the battle between the two Laws, those of Conscience and the Constitution, and he has to take sides on the spot.

December 7th, through the Grand Jury of the United States Court at Cleveland, Ohio, thirty-seven men, chiefly residents of Oberlin, were indicted for resisting the Fugitive Slave Law. The marshal put them under arrest, and they voluntarily went to Cleveland for trial. And now opens that conflict of the two sides both of which were represented by able and often passionate disputants, headed by the United

States Judge (Willson), who in his charge to the Grand Jury, declared: "There is a sentiment prevalent in the community which arrogates to human conduct a standard of right above and independent of human laws; and it makes the CONSCIENCE of each individual in society the test of his own accountability to the laws of the land." The Judge proceeds to acknowledge that such a "sentiment is semi-religious in its development," but he denounces it as "almost invariably characterized by intolerance and bigotry," as well as subversive of human society. On the other hand the press, the pulpit, the hustings resounded with echoes, loud and continued, of the Higher Law. It was, however, no mere theoretical discussion. Here were men imprisoned, over whom hung the penalty for obeying that Higher Law, yet ready to take the legal consequences of such an act though imposed by an unfriendly Judiciary. Said one of the prisoners, a Professor in the College: "We mean to make patriotism a part of our religion, and to be behind none in prompt and earnest service for the honor and good of the Commonwealth." The Professor added: "Only when the Commonwealth is loyal to God," can we be loyal to her; and we intend to teach our children that "they will not be dutiful to the State, if they did not hold her to her duty to God." The reader to-day asks:

But who, my dear Professor, is to be judge between the individual and the State when this conflict between Conscience and Authority breaks out in a fury? Are you? Is the State? Or is there perchance some Power, some Spirit over both, bringing them first into this terrible struggle and then leading them out of it, possibly through blood, to a new reconciliation? Such a road both these conflicting sides are now traveling and will reach at last a common goal.

Meanwhile the case of Simeon Bushnell has been called for trial (April 5, 1859). Again the conflict seethes up in that court room, now between the two sets of attorneys, one set for the prosecution, the other for the prisoners. Vituperation of each other and each other's cause spiced the proceedings to the point of giving the lie, intermingled with applause and hisses of the audience. It was another of those preliminary battles forecasting the Great War. The outcome of the trial was that Bushnell was condemned to a fine of six hundred dollars, and to imprisonment in the county jail for sixty days.

The conflict had roused the whole North, and particularly the Western Reserve, which assembled in a great mass-meeting at Cleveland, May 24th. But in that excited multitude there was no thought of rescuing the prisoners, or of any violence. Protests against Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law were indeed loud, long and

passionate. Giddings came the nearest to a revolutionary note in his speech, but he toned it down the next morning in a card to a leading newspaper. Chase, the Republican Governor of the State, spoke soothingly. "The great remedy is in the people themselves at the ballot-box. See to it, what kind of a President you elect again." Whereat many a man in that audience had a little chuckle to himself when he thought that Chase was a Presidential candidate.

In all these discussions one is surprised at the stress put upon State-Rights. Over and over again do we hear that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 violated the sovereignty of the State of Ohio, and was therefore unconstitutional. The South in its palmyest days never set forth this doctrine with more vigor and passion. And it was known that there were Southerners who held that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional through its violation of State-Rights. So the pro-slavery extremists of South Carolina and the anti-slavery extremists of the Western Reserve could meet at a common point and have a hearty handshake. The Attorney-General of Ohio (Wolcott), in an argument upon a phase of the present case, branded the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 "as a flagrant usurpation of wholly undelegated powers," which sounds like South Carolina. To be sure, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, both anti-slavery men as well as great law-

yers, held it to be constitutional and voted for it, not to speak of other eminent members of the Congress which passed it. So State-Rights had hot champions in the North as well as in the South, though the support of such championship had purposes exactly opposite.

Governor Chase at the Cleveland mass-meeting, made a remark which deserves to be remembered. He said that the Fugitive Slave Law was intended as a symbol — “symbol of the supremacy of the Slave-States and subjugation of the Free-States.” The fact is the Cotton States which lost few slaves, in comparison with the Northern tier of Slave-States, were by far the loudest, most exacting, and most menacing supporters of the Fugitive Slave Law — which fact had undoubtedly its covert meaning, or was symbolic, as Chase puts it.

The second trial was that of a mulatto, a man of education and ability, who claimed with piercing logic and passionate eloquence that he had not been tried by jury of his peers, who were white men, in violation of the fundamental precept of Anglo-Saxon justice. The judge seemed to feel the force of his plea and gave him a light sentence.

Through a legal maneuver under the guise of a State law against kidnaping, the trial was brought to a close, and the untried persons were released, and returned home in a kind of triumph



(July 7th, 1859). It was generally agreed that the Oberlinites had been victorious in the preliminary struggle for their principle. The whole affair from its inception had lasted nearly ten months and had made the entire North conscious of the deeper conflict underlying and causing the throes of the time. Both political parties could not help seeing the issue in its full bearing, and the best men of the land were making up their minds upon that issue. Every day during this period the newspapers thrust the matter before their readers.

Such was the new stage in the grand discipline of the Northern Folk-Soul for the crisis which is surely approaching. Higher Law is indeed old, it was recognized by that fertile Greek mind which seemed to have in it all the conflicts of the future embryonically. Antigone (a woman, mark) following her own inner Law, buries her dead brother in opposition to the Law of the State expressed by the ruler. Even ancient Homer shows Hector fighting for his country which he deems to be in the wrong, and hence meeting with a tragic fate. Oberlin, however, interpreted the Bible (not Greek Literature) into the Higher Law, though the South interpreted that same Bible in the opposite way, and prayed as fervently to its God. The Bible does indeed renew Conscience, but Conscience must also renew the Bible. The historian



from his point of view will say that the Spirit of History, the Genius of Civilization, the World-Spirit was working in that Oberlin Conscience, making it and its deed expressive of and stimulating to millions of others, and therein putting them all under training. So we may affirm that the World-Spirit, after skipping from Illinois to Harper's Ferry, sweeps back into Northern Ohio, and very distinctly to the historic eye, with which we now must look, may be seen alighting in the small town of Oberlin and choosing an humble citizen to be its doer and speaker.

But the last act is yet to be told. Simeon Bushnell's time of imprisonment had not expired when the other untried rescuers were themselves rescued and left the jail for home. But on the 11th of July his sixty days were over, and after having suffered the full penalty of the law and paid his fine he started on his triumphal march from Cleveland to Oberlin, to the thousand-throated refrain, yea if there could have been heard all the secret chorus of sympathetic choristers throughout the Nation, to the million-throated refrain of "See, the conquering Hero comes." The town was full of people, who assembled at the great church, as they were celebrating a supreme religious act in their conviction, where speeches, and brass bands, and choir-singing praised the Lord and His miraculous

act of deliverance in a mighty tumult of jubilation. The culminating moment was when Simeon Bushnell, being called upon for a speech, rose to his feet in the pulpit and proclaimed in the highest notes of his somewhat shrill voice that there he stood, and was again ready to give aid to the panting fugitive, and again ready to take the punishment for such deed of merciful help extended in the hour of need to his fellow-man and commanded by God's own Law. Whereat such a shout of approval arose in that crowded church, along with the blowing of brass horns in the gallery as if from the Heavens, and with the rising and singing of a solid mass of jubilant voices from the lofty seats of the choir, that no mortal man could stand out against the enthusiasm, or help feeling the presence of "that Power irresistible," which Lincoln had also experienced as moving and working in vast assemblages of the People on the prairies of Illinois during his debate with Douglas.

But with this one deed and speech, of far deeper import than many of greater fame and pretension, the humble artisan of Oberlin passes out of the ken of the World's History, and not very long afterwards out of life, since he was suffering all these days from the secret ravages of an incurable disease. Thus he was destined never to witness the termination of that conflict for which he stood and suffered.

Here, then, the two colliding elements have a new solution, not final, but possible for the exigency. You are to obey both Laws and seek the ultimate remedy of their conflict, harassing though it be, through the peaceful ballot. That was not John Brown's method. But what if yonder fugitive, straining every nerve to escape his pursuers, comes your way just now? Obey the inner Law and help him, then obey the outer Law and take the penalty. Endure, endure thou must, for the sake of Conscience; endure, endure thou must, for the sake of the Institution and its Law. Such was the double aspect of duty appearing to Simeon Bushnell and many others. It must be endured for the present, that dilacerating contradiction between the Enacted and the Higher Law, or between what are called the human and the divine decrees, though both are equally divine and equally human. To this point of tension has the time driven the man of Conscience. Take me, says he, punish me, I have deserved it for violating Law, but I would have deserved worse, deserved Hell itself, if I had not violated Law in this case: Kill me, if you wish, life is nothing if I have to obey that Law; I would rather die than not extend help to the humble fellow-mortal in his sorest trial. To such a depth and energy has the conflict reached that man begins to stand face to face with his own tragedy. The result of the execution of

the Fugitive Slave Law was to intensify the growing conviction that not only the enactment but the source of it must be wiped out. In such a land there can be no inner peace for a man of Conscience. Gladly would we leave slavery alone in the Slave States, but it will not leave us alone.

Underneath all assertions of non-interference with slavery where it legally exists, is fermenting the Folk-Soul of the North feeling that such a solution can only be temporary. It is indeed at bottom a negative solution, wherein the individual with his conscience is punished, possibly destroyed. This is no true reconciliation of the moral and the institutional elements in man; each is still outside of the other and antagonistic. Wait; in about six years from this time Conscience will rise and transform that Constitution which now suppresses and punishes it, as we may hear in the following grand act of liberation: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

But to this point time has not yet historically brought us though preparing for a rapid journey thither. After tarrying these few months the World-Spirit will leave Oberlin also, having made it the most striking representative of a peculiar phase of the mighty conflict. The town produced no great historic character, like

Lincoln, like John Brown. It was the community, substantially self-guided, that arose and did the deed. Some professors, some students, some citizens, some darkeys, some politicians (for these too were on hand), made up the rather indistinguishable throng which poured itself out of the town and streamed down the road, quite leaderless, after the slave-catcher, who was now hunted himself with far more desperation than he had ever hunted a slave. The act of the whole community it was with a few dissentient voices, one of which was that of the Village Blacksmith, a herculean negro, who, once a slave himself in the South, had bought his own freedom and then that of his wife and children, through skill and industry at his trade, and had landed them all in Oberlin, continuing still, in his talk at least, a pro-slavery African.

So it remains the great merit of this community, with many like-minded ones, that in her the moral spirit, though so deeply cherished and cultivated, never became destructive of Law and Institutions, as it has often done; nor, on the other hand, did this moral spirit renounce and deny its own worth and validity within its legitimate sphere, as it has often done. Conscience sought not to destroy the Constitution in its strongest self-assertion, but, waiting and suffering if need be, sought rather to transform that instrument of supreme institutional au-

thority, even through the obedience of pain and martyrdom, into harmony with itself as the superscription and the decree of the World-Spirit. This transformation at last took place, and that furious struggle between the moral and institutional man, which so long and so fiercely rent the Folk-Soul of the North, was pacified, receiving a truer and deeper reconciliation of its contending claims than any hitherto known in the World's History,

Such was the one side, the Northern with the mighty throes surging through its heart during these years (1858-61), begotten of slavery; but what about the other side?



## CHAPTER II. — THE SOUTH.

We can now turn to the South and try to find out what it is doing, what is going on within its Folk-Soul by way of prelude to the great struggle. As already stated, the difference between North and South is more pronounced than ever, though it existed from the beginning; Kansas has widened that little crack in the Union called Mason and Dixon's line into an open chasm: each side is starting to become a separate country with its own life and purpose. Thus the Folk-Soul of the Nation as whole is cleft in the middle, and commences to show two opposed and conflicting Folk-Souls, whose contest is our Ten Years' War. But it must not be forgotten that while the whole is dividing itself into these two halves, one of these halves shows the tendency toward Disunion and the other toward Union.

In the matter of land, the South in 1858 had a  
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greater area than the North (851,488 square miles to 612,597, that is, over one-third more). Then the North had about twice as many inhabitants to the square mile as the South. If the argument turned on an equal distribution of the land between the two sections, the South had an area equal to five States of the size of New York more than the North. If the argument turned on the people's need of land as indicated by population, the North needed it twice as much as the South. But the contest really was for political power through the new States to be made out of the Territories. The area of these Territories in 1858 equaled the area of both Northern and Southern States, with a little State in addition, larger than Massachusetts. Such was the outlook upon the coming strife between the two sections, of which Kansas would seemingly be but a brief prelude, provided that the movement kept going westward. But, strange to say, the stress of the conflict, as already noted, has quit Kansas, and wheeling about, is moving eastward. The center of the trouble must be sought for, and the cure must take place there. Starting from the Kansas border, the World-Spirit whose movement we are particularly watching, seems to be marching for the Old-Thirteen, and for their Capital, Washington. And when the Great War comes on, we shall find that it has essentially the

same movement, its total sweep being taken into the account.

In the North we have watched the struggle between the moral and institutional elements in its various manifestations, which have been represented by three individuals. In the South we shall find that the process moves through classes rather than through individuals, and is aristocratic rather than democratic, its trend being from above downwards rather than from below upwards. The problem in the North is: How shall we make our moral convictions determine our Institutions? The problem in the South is: How shall we make our Institutions determine our moral convictions? Shall our rising Conscience transform the inherited Law, or shall the inherited Law transform our rising Conscience? There is no doubt that the North inclined one way, and the South the opposite way. If the World-Spirit first stamps its superscription upon the Folk-Soul in an ethical form, then the South ran counter to the World-Spirit, to Progress, to Civilization. Thus the Kansas conflict, as we have often noted, is typical of the conflict between the two sections, and preludes the the Great War.

In general it may be said that the democratic Individualism of the North is moving toward the associated whole of the Nation, while the aristocratic Classism of the South is moving toward

the dissociated partition of the Nation. The origin of this Classism, so separative in its nature, goes back to the great gulf which divides the black slave from the white master, quite impassable on account of the difference of race. This difference gradually permeated the whole social fabric of the South, dividing the whites also into Classes, the slaveholders and the non-slaveholders, between whom the chasm kept widening, as the one Class embraced largely the rich and educated, the other the poor and ignorant. Yet both the slaves and the non-slaveholders were in a large majority, so that at home the slaveholders as a minority had to rule two majorities. In fact so strong did the spirit of Classism become, that their own slaveholding Class split into subordinate Classes, of which one, also a minority of the total Class, bore sway over the rest which made up the majority.

I. At this point we can see what the slaveholders of the South, as the ruling Class, were thinking about incessantly. Their political problem may be summarized as the minority's government over the majority. How can the few and relatively always becoming fewer, rule the greater number, and always becoming relatively greater? It is evident that such a problem must lay an ever-increasing burden upon the Southern mind, which had to occupy itself almost exclusively with pol-

itics, if it was going to retain its supremacy. Moreover such an exclusive line of thought and work moulded in time the character.

In order that the reader may see the nature and sweep of this problem, we shall set down in order the four majorities which the one Southern minority deemed that it had to control, and actually did control, for many years, even with a continually increasing disparity in numbers and wealth.

(1.) The Class of slaveholders within itself developed into several divisions, the uppermost and richest of which may be taken to embrace the owners of fifty slaves and more, while the lowest and poorest division would include the owners of one, two, three and even four slaves. In the latter the masters usually labored in the fields with their bondmen. The first division — less than 8,000 by the census of 1850 — gave tone to Southern society, and furnished its policy as well most of its rulers. Then came the intermediate division or divisions. The lowest division, however, was more numerous than all the other divisions combined, containing over 174,000 small slaveholders, who often showed discontent, and had to be skillfully handled by the ruling minority.

It is this fact which makes the term *Oligarchy* applicable to the rule of the slaveholders. The governing Class was really a select Class (or

Few) within the total Class, which was itself a minority of the entire Southern white population. The whole body of slaveholders formed an Aristocracy; but the Aristocracy was itself ruled by an Oligarchy within itself. Now it was this Oligarchy whose counsels controlled the South and also the Nation, till its power was broken by the War. As we here see, it starts at home inside its own Class with minority rule, which becomes its strongest principle as well as its inmost character, causing it to send forth from itself as center a succession of concentric waves of minority rule to the limits of the land.

(2.) The next majority to be mentioned as controlled by the Southern minority of slaveholders is that of the white non-slaveholders of their section. How is this accomplished? As the minority has the State legislatures, there is no adequate system of Public Schools, so that the poor whites are kept in ignorance. Moreover their labor is degraded by slavery, being regarded as servile, and it is often driven out of the market, reducing those who have it for sale to abject poverty. The result is a bitter prejudice in the impoverished and ignorant non-slaveholder not so much against the slaveholder, the real cause, as against the black slave, the apparent cause. This prejudice was the great lever which the minority used for the preservation of its power in the South, by rousing in the



poor whites the hate for their black competitors and also the fear of negro equality.

(3.) The third majority in his own section which the slaveholder had to control embraced the blacks, numbering about three and one-half millions in 1850. Of course this control was economic and personal rather than political and indirect; still it was authority and the source of the other authorities in more ways than one. It gave to the slaveholder his financial power, his leisure for politics, his social position, and also his dominating character. There is little doubt that the appetite of the Southerner for authority as well as his skill in gratifying it, sprang from his mastership over his slaves bred in him for generations and starting in early infancy. This was his original and fundamental minority rule, which spread from that one relation into every other.

The educational effect of slavery has often been noticed. No man has spoken of this with greater power and sagacity than Thomas Jefferson, himself a slaveholder though anti-slavery. As his evidence was given long before the strife between North and South — in which a struggle for power was also mingled — we may take his statements as those of an impartial observer. In his *Notes on Virginia* he says: “The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions — the

most unremitting despotism on one part and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. \* \* \* The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose rein to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with its odious peculiarities. \* \* \* And with what execration must the statesman be loaded "who does not work for the annihilation of this curse. No New England abolitionist in the noon-day of anti-slavery excitement ever used stronger language than this. For our present purpose, however, we wish to call attention to its educational insight which goes far to account for the inborn and inbred love of domination in the Southerner, who both inherited it from his ancestors and was educated into it by his environment. A minority ruler he was by birth and by training. We are seeking to account for him, not to abuse him, and herein we are simply following the keen psychological analysis of Jefferson who threw such a penetrating glance into the hearts of those around him and perchance into his own heart.

(4.) The foregoing account has shown the slaveholding minority — the Oligarchy — ruling

three majorities at home in the South, that of its own Class, and of the non-slaveholding Class, and of the slaves. This very considerable work it has done with success. But now comes a greater task, and one which is growing more and more difficult — its minority rule over the whole Nation, inclusive of the North ever increasing in population and wealth, and also in hostility to slavery and its oligarchical rule. It must always astonish the world how long and with what political skill this small minority of the South was able to dominate the four great majorities, till at last its power was broken in the Nation by the election of Lincoln in 1860, and then shivered to fragments in its own section by the Great War.

It is probable that the Oligarchy might have maintained its minority rule at home in the South for many years, if it had accepted the majority rule in the Nation as determined in the Presidential election of 1860. This was the opinion of its greatest statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, who held that, while the South had the right to secede and also had received sufficient provocation, such a course would be impolitic. Still the Oligarchy rejected this view, feeling that if it submitted even once to the national majority, the whole principle of minority rule would be upset, and would sooner or later have to be abandoned even in the South. So the Oligarchs resolved to

follow principle rather than policy. To be sure, this principle, the rule of the minority, was anti-republican and would break up the old Nation, but a new Nation could be formed with it as foundation. The Constitution of the Confederate States, was, accordingly, based in explicit terms upon the foregoing form of minority rule.

From the same motive sprang the prolonged resistance of the Oligarchy to the freedom of Kansas, as this would destroy the equality between North and South, there being already sixteen Free-States to fifteen Slave-States. So the National Union was proclaimed to be Slave-State producing, whereupon the Republican party made its appearance in opposition, seeking to stop the perpetuation of minority rule, in which the ownership of negroes having no votes conferred political power upon the master.

II. There is no doubt that in 1858 the preceding political, or, rather oligarchical, development of the South was approaching a crisis. A strong party (the Republican) was united against it, ever increasing in size and compactness. On the other hand its own party (the Democratic) was disrupted and disintegrating more and more, though still powerful. The Oligarchy felt its supremacy threatened to the foundation, and had a presentiment that a fight for life was coming.

In 1858, accordingly, the outlook of the South was not favorable. It had lost more than all that it had gained by the Presidential election of 1856. It was in a state of inner separation and doubt and dissension. Kansas, in spite of the efforts of the South combined with the power of the Administration, was lost. The Dred Scot decision, instead of destroying the Republican party, had inspired it with new zeal and deepened its purpose. The elections in the North were overwhelmingly adverse, and had sent a hostile House of Representatives to the Capital. Pennsylvania, the home of the President (Buchanan) had more than reversed her vote for him two years before; her great majority against his policy and his advisers showed not only disappointment but wrath. The prospect for extending the empire of Slavery into the Spanish-American countries was not bright in 1858; the negotiation for Cuba did not prosper, and Walker, the filibuster, had been driven out of Nicaragua. In domestic politics the Democratic party, the support of the South, showed decided signs of being rent assunder; disunion had entered it and was tearing it to pieces. It had, moreover, become plain that not only could a Southern man not be elected to the Presidency, but there could not again be elected a Northern man with Southern principles, like Pierce and Buchanan.

A pivotal year, then, for the South was this year 1858. It was, so to speak, thrown back upon itself and compelled to align itself anew for the future. The same fact we have already observed in the North. The indication was that the South would have to surrender its national power at the next Presidential election. Can it bring itself to perform such an act which it deems so humiliating? That is the chief problem, which it is going to ponder upon and work over within itself for the next three years. Hence the division into Unionists and Disunionists begins to appear in a preponderating fashion. We may hear what the Southern mind is busied with in the question: Shall the South secede, if a Republican President is elected? Many shades of opinion rose and floated in the Southern Folk-Soul, but they hovered about one center; if we cannot rule this Union, shall we break it up?

It is indeed a trying problem. For more than two generations the South has directed the destinies of the Nation, and has become not only accustomed to but ingrown with supreme authority. Can it give up its domination and be ruled in its turn? That is the inner struggle with which it is now surging, and about this it is making up its mind, preparatory to the outer struggle.

III. Accordingly we have to bring before our-



selves the character and condition of the South as it was half a hundred years ago in the fifties of the nineteenth century before the great changes which were brought about during and since the War. In such an investigation our first question must be: What is the deepest and strongest motive at this time impelling the South? What is it that is really driving the Southern Folk-Soul, in part secretly and unconsciously, to stake all upon the sword? The answer is, not simply the love but the necessity of Power to the South; she cannot surrender the domination she has exercised for so long a period without a convulsion in her very heart, which means a desperate fight. To this deepest motive must be added others, but more superficial, which indeed become means for realizing the one great end, for gratifying this one strongest passion for authority

Let it be said at the start that such a motive is not bad in itself, but commendable rather. The man or men who feel capable of leading their people, have not only the right but the duty of Power; especially at a critical time they ought to step forth and assume the responsibility of leadership. Not to do so is the supreme sin of omission, of shirking the God-sent burden, of which History as well as the lofty World-poets have not failed to show the penalty. It is truly "the great refusal" which

Dante punishes in one of the circles of his *Inferno*. The desire for power is not in itself a ground of reproach but of praise. The lust of domination is often denounced from a kind of jealousy, particularly by persons who have it themselves, but whose ambition has been thwarted, or whose incapacity has been illuminated. So it was not wrong but right for the South to rule, provided she ruled according to right.

We have, then, to consider the way or the means by which the South sought to perpetuate her authority. This means was the extension of slavery, for which she became the ardent, we might say, the maddened champion. Though her end was not wrong in itself, her means was wrong, as time has shown and as civilization has said, if it has ever said anything. The State-producing Union of the Fathers, or at least so intended by them, the South has sought to transform into a Union productive of Slave-States, for the purpose of getting and keeping her Power. She has made herself the defender of slavery in all its aspects, economic, social, moral, political, religious. This was a great change from her attitude during and just after the formation of the Constitution, at least from the attitude of her greatest men, who were in line with the movement of the age, in harmony with the decree of the World-Spirit,

regarding slavery as an evil which might be necessary for a time, but which ought to be abolished as soon as possible.

The mentioned change in the South began to take place in the first generation after the Constitution. It was brought into activity when the territory of the Louisiana Purchase had to be cut up into States. Shall these be devoted to free labor or slave labor? A great agitation on the subject of slavery arose in the Nation which was allayed by the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

But through the Mexican War a vast new domain was acquired, and again the same question came to the front with fresh agitation, which was calmed for a time by the Compromise Measures of 1850. In both these Compromises the South took the part of the propagator of slavery, yet with a decided change of view toward it. The Southerners themselves acknowledged this change. Said W. Gilmore Simms in an essay published in 1852: "Twenty years ago few persons in the South undertook to justify slavery; now very few persons in the same region questioned their perfect right to the labor of their slaves, and, more, their moral obligation to keep them still subject as slaves." The South Carolina novelist regards this change "as a great good," and "the fruit wholly of foreign pressure," namely the pressure of the North against slavery.

Still the man can be pointed out, who, more than any other, was the leader of this change — John C. Calhoun. His career lay in the generation before 1850, and ends in the Compromise of that year. The great statesmen of Virginia, the founders and the early administrators of the Government, were slaveholders but were anti-slavery in sentiment. Now Virginia after her illustrious period turns to the new belief, which is even reflected in the later years of Jefferson, once the most ardent abolitionist of his time. Virginia smothers her moral protest previously so loud, and she, the mother of Presidents, turns to slave-breeding for the Cotton States, and never brings forth another President for the United States in direct line of descent. From Virginia sprang the idea of the State-producing Union and its formulation in the Constitution; still further, she at first sought to make this Union Free-State producing, as may be seen in the ordinance of 1787. But now she turns to the undoing of her own greatest work, and bends her effort to make the Union Slave-State producing, as if she might in that way clutch afresh her fleeting power. This is what destroyed her supremacy, sapping the deep foundations of character in her statesmanship, and causing her public men to deteriorate visibly from the high standard set by Washington, Marshall and Jefferson. They no longer kept

pace with the march of the age, but wheeled about and took the opposite road; they no longer heard the voice of the World-Spirit which whispered morally to the human heart its unalterable decree against slavery.

It is an interesting fact that intelligent Southerners knew that the civilized world was against their institution. But they defied the Public Opinion of other nations. Simms, in the essay already cited, cries out: "What are they that should subject us to the question? *The Southern people are a nation*," that is, taken by themselves, apart from the North, and will not "answer at the tribunal of any other nation." So the fiery novelist flings his defiance at the world, declaring that we shall "answer with weapons and in no other language than that of war to the knife," should our slaveholding right be challenged. Out of these words breathes the spirit of irresponsible domination, begotten of the relation of master to slave. The stigma branded by Civilization upon slavery never aroused Conscience as it ought to have done, but an intense wrath with the offer of battle on the spot.

Looking back from the present time we can easily see to what this spirit is leading — tragedy. South Carolina and the inner ruling circle of Southern slaveholders have reached that mental condition which the ancients deemed insolence

toward the Gods, who proceed to wipe them off the face of the earth. Simms, who may be taken as the literary voice of his people, has become Zeus-defying like Capaneus and the lesser Ajax; he is ready to throw down his gauntlet to the World-Spirit, to the presiding Genius of Civilization, and meet it in mortal combat. A tragic fatuity weaves through much of what the South said and did in these three Nemesis-laden years. The South, then, would not, we might almost say could not, release her hold on national Power, without a terrific struggle. If she were no longer able to rule the whole nation, the United States, she would halve it, and make a nation out of her part, over which she would bear unquestioned sway. But to reach such a mental stage she had to go through a considerable evolution, which shows her transition from excusing slavery as a necessary evil, to justifying it as a positive good. In 1820 (let us say) the South suppressed her moral scruple but clung to and carried out her political end in extending slavery. Thus the political element of her character overbore the moral element, for the sake of Power. But this was not the conclusion of the process. Gradually the political element succeeded in enlisting the hitherto suppressed moral element in its behalf, and slavery was defended on moral grounds, enslaving its former great enemy, morality itself with conscience and duty, to its defence and



justification. The question rises in these days: Was the South ever really convinced by its argument, or was there a deeper depth in its conviction which remained untouched to the last, and which will rise up and assert itself when the great burden is removed from its soul? A good deal said by many representative Southern men since the War would seem to suggest an affirmative answer.

We can see how it came about that the South developed great political skill at the expense of the deeper moral trend of the time, which she possessed once in her earlier statesmen, then suppressed, then perverted to her own purpose of domination. Politics became the all-absorbing study and occupation of the leading Southerners, along with the Law, which, however, was made the servant if not the slave of the grand political end. Nothing can be plainer than that Chief-Justice Taney had a political purpose underneath the Dred Scot decision. He was of the dominant Southern class and merely voiced its employment of the Law for promoting its rule. The Supreme Court was made the instrument for destroying both of the Northern political parties. Accordingly we have to say that the South in its own Folk-Soul subjected, or perchance enslaved, both the moral and the enacted Law, both morality and legality, to its supreme design of domination. These two almost incredible tasks

were accomplishd, or seemed to be accomplished in that same prolific period of transition between 1820 and 1850, when the South invoked, or rather impressed both Laws, that of Conscience and that of the Constitution, to do its service. A great intellectual feat we have to exclaim admiringly, yet it could not persist without dethroning the World-Spirit and upsetting the Divine Order, which the South half-consciously had challenged to the contest.

IV. Another peculiar fact in this development was that the South kept its dominating motive in the background. To extend the blessings of slavery, and thereby to put upon a deeper and more lasting foundation our republican edifice, were the beneficent missionary motives which the South danced before itself and others who might care to listen. She was not inclined to hold up to public view that profoundest motive of her soul, though it often broke through the hedge of her lips. Why this tendency to keep it back? Primarily human nature is prone to secrete from vulgar gaze its deepest inner springs, and the South was no exception. Always playing under the open propagandism of slavery was the more or less concealed motive of Power. For the South was in a minority and knew it; knew also that the preponderance of the North was increasing and would continue to increase. If Power belong to the majority, the South had no right

to it in morals or in law. If the fundamental maxim of the American political consciousness be, that the majority should rule, then the oligarchical organism of Southern society had to violate that consciousness in order to retain its Power. Nay, more, it had to prepare and to keep preparing new and deeper violations in order to meet the increasing vote against it. We have seen in the history of Kansas its repeated attempts to thwart the will of the majority. The democratic numbers of the North were pitted against aristocratic skill in organization, which was necessarily more secret.

The motive of power was accordingly not so openly avowed, since it meant a disregard of the very principle of Government by the People, the rule of the majority. Such a doctrine would not be palatable to the white non-slaveholding class of the South, more than two-thirds of its voting population. For the Southern Oligarchy had two great majorities to look after and to counteract, its own and the Northern. Both it held in subordination by its consummate political strategy for many years. Finally the Northern majority broke loose, and asserted its power and its principle, but only through a long and desperate war. The Southern non-slaveholding majority largely fought this war under the command of the oligarchical minority, when it too was enfranchised through the war by the North

against which it fought. 'We hold that this is the true liberation of the South, far more important than that of the negro, though much more noise is made about the latter. That which was the poor non-slaveholding majority of the South is now educating itself, is learning to work with effect and getting property, and above all is becoming conscious of its freedom. This may fairly be called the greatest boon of the war to the South, and it has conferred some other great ones.

On the whole the North did not have this desire for Power so strongly developed, never having really possessed national authority, and so never having been spoiled by it. Even under Northern Presidents there had been substantially Southern rule. The North was dominated more by the moral end than by the political; not till these two ends fell into bitter conflict, did the North begin to feel the necessity of national supremacy for overcoming that conflict. Undoubtedly there were statesmen of the North who sought the great prize of national headship, or, as the phrase goes, were stung by the Presidential bee. This ambition, however, in the generation before the War could only be gratified by subserviency to the South. Still with the increase of Free-States over Slave-States, the situation began to change. Seward seems to have been the first important states-

man who distinctly saw himself President without the aid of the South. He boasted in the Senate (Feb. 2, 1858), that "we are fighting for a majority of Free States; they are already sixteen to fifteen," not counting Kansas which is destined to be a Free-State, with two others soon to be added. Seward did not then say: all of which will elect me President — but he certainly thought it and the Southern senators also felt the possibility of such a result, and with it the end of the national rule of the Oligarchy to which they belonged. Seward's boast, or perchance taunt must have set them all to thinking about the future, particularly about the coming election of President, who, however, will not be Seward.

V. The South had developed a peculiar social system, different from, and in many respects opposite to the one at the North. To maintain and to extend this social system called out and developed the political skill of the Southerners. For the function of the State is to protect the Social Order, and to secure to every member of it his effort, his labor, his Will. Hence it comes that the social system of the South had to be defended at every point not by a trained military but by a trained political army officered with its best men from the top down. The excellence of the Southern Senators and Representatives and

their long tenure of office, have often been remarked.

The most striking social fact of the South has been already mentioned; the sharp division into three great Classes — slaveholders, non-slaveholders and slaves. The first two were of the white race, the third of the black; hence the difference of race entered into this Society, and had a tendency to harden the distinctions of Class into the impassible limits of Caste. Undoubtedly the three Classes merged at the edges, but their separation was very pronounced, and up to the time of the war was deepening and crystallizing. Any taint of negro blood threw the person into the third Class, while the second Class on the whole was sinking into a more hopeless poverty and ignorance.

While the separation of Classes was becoming wider, their production was becoming narrower. The South was limited to one chief occupation, agriculture. There was little manufacturing on an extensive scale. Not the diversification of industries but their confinement was the economic law of this Society. Even the one chief occupation, agriculture, was not diversified, but had a tendency to limit itself to a few products. In the extreme South, cotton, rice and sugar, were quite the sole products deemed worthy of the planter's regard; they may be called the aristocratic product of the South-



ern soil, reflecting, while also moulding the character of their producer. Indeed these staples showed within their exclusive circle a tendency toward the domination of one — cotton. This fact was expressed before the war in the pithy statement: cotton is king. So the aristocracy of production in the South revealed a movement toward a monarchy of production. But a democracy of production through a many-branched industry, such as was seen in the North, did not and could not exist in a Society of this kind. The first brings a concentration of Power into the hands of the few and fewer, and ultimately of the one; the second signifies a distribution of Power into the hands of the many and the more, and ultimately of all who will work. Thus the South in its social system has developed a kind of hierarchical order which moves from the top downward, descending from the highest to the lowest; while the North in its social system moves in the opposite direction, from the bottom upward, the lowest having an open road to the highest.

The foregoing thought we may formulate in the following way: the South tended to homogeneity of production, but to heterogeneity of Classes participating in this work of production; the North, on the contrary, tended to heterogeneity of production, but homogeneity of Classes which diversified this production. The South:

one product (or few) with hierarchy of unequal Classes; the North: many different products with one equal Class essentially. In 1858 these two opposing social systems had quite fully unfolded their respective characters and purposes, and were aligning themselves for the great fight over the control of the destiny of the Nation.

Social intercommunication could not be highly developed in the South. Roads were poor, railways were few, the methods of transportation primitive. The mansion of the great planter stood alone in solitary rural grandeur, or in the vicinity of the hovels of his slaves. It was an image of its lord, separate, independent, atomic, unassociated with other houses on an equality in urban fashion. The principle of human association was not a universal force in the South, but limited chiefly to the great slaveholders, who organized themselves into a compact body for their supreme political purpose.

The South, through its exclusive agricultural bent, made itself immediately dependent on Nature. It accepted what came with reliance on Providence; it was religious and conservative, attached to old ways, proud of its ancestral lineage, studious of the genealogical tree, unfriendly to new ideas, especially to the new-fangled ideas of New England. No manufactures transformed Nature, and therewith transformed the man, giving a consciousness of superiority over

Nature. The wealth of the South came from its raw materials, which were sent out of it, often to be returned as finished products for its use. Thus the South with all its feeling of independence was really very dependent, first upon Nature then upon other nations. Self-dependent or self-sufficing as a whole it could not be called — a fact which the War brought home to it painfully. It had refused to learn to supply its own wants though a diversified industry. The small artisan and the small merchant were indeed present, but limited to the limited needs of the one class, the agricultural. There was no multifarious communal life with its varied consumption and production, and with its members quite upon the same general level. On the contrary the South openly proclaimed that its society and all rightly constituted society had to have a Class for its menial duties, was in fact built upon a Class of this kind as its mud-sill. Says Senator Hammond: “Such a Class you must have, or you would not have that other Class which leads progress, civilization, refinement. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand.” Thus the two main Classes of the South, at least in the mind of the Oligarchs, were those of master and slave; the non-slaveholding Class though white and the largest, was seldom spoken of, and had, as Helper complains, almost no political weight;

still it was present and was emphatically “classified” in contrast with the two other Classes.

This tendency of the South to Classism had not escaped the observation of Lincoln, who had inculcated that all the States and all the People of the States should be ultimately homogeneous as regards freedom. Douglas, however, maintained in his Debate with Lincoln that States and People should continue both slave and free, thus producing a happy diversity in our land instead of the dull uniformity of liberty. Again, Lincoln in a letter characterizes the Southern tendency as “the supplanting of the principles of free government, and the restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy.” (Cited in Nicolay and Hay’s *Life*, II, 182.)

Accordingly, the fundamental point of view from which we must look at the South is its Classism, or its distinctions of Class which have become so pronounced in its social organization. Each of these Classes has its own process within itself, yet also with one another, and finally all of them are in a decided process with the North. The three mentioned Classes will now be considered separately.

## The Slaveholders.

The great political function of the slaveholding Class was to rule majorities, and to keep from being ruled by them. This was carried so far that the slaveholder himself was not ruled by a majority of his own Class, but by a minority of it which constituted the Oligarchy. This form of government we have already seen springing from the relation of master and slave, especially when the master is of a different and superior race. The slave-owner of black men is born and trained to be a minority ruler. This fact is manifested already in the Constitution of the United States, in which the ownership of negroes confers political power upon the master, though he does not cast their votes directly. He may own 1,000 negroes and 1,000 blooded horses, the values of both being equal; but the negroes mean 600 votes in the apportionment of national political power to his State and to his Congressional District. He might be conceived to have enough slaves to make a District of his own, or perchance even a State. Thus he is created an aristocrat, if not an autocrat, by the Constitution, at whose formation he was already strong enough to compel such a provision, against the wishes of a majority of the Convention. This

was his first great minority triumph in the Nation, just at its birth, which he threatened to prevent, unless he were granted that minority power.

Still further and by the same principle, in his own slaveholding Class the possessor of 1,000 slaves is endowed with far more political power than the possessor of 100 or of 10 slaves, other things being equal. Hence there arises an aristocracy within an aristocracy, which has been already named the Oligarchy, whose object is primarily to concentrate within itself the political power of its Class.

Looking at this slaveholding Class as a whole, we may grasp it as a series of concentric circles which move outward from the center of Power, diminishing till they vanish into the non-slaveholding Class. In a general way the number of slaves determined the rank of the owner, though his influence depended also on his ability. The central circle had a membership of 8,000 nearly, who were the owners of fifty slaves and more (census of 1850). As there were some six millions of whites then in the South, one out of seven hundred and fifty would belong to this central circle of Power.

The second or middle circle may be taken to include those who owned five or more slaves and less than fifty. It was much larger than the preceding circle, as it must have contained in 1850 some 165,000 slaveholders, most of whom did not



labor with their hands, but followed at a distance the style of the great slaveholders, whose circle they were ambitious to enter and thus attain the highest social and political rank of their system. Such was the general trend though with many exceptions doubtless.

The third or lowest or outermost circle of slaveholders embraces those who had one to four slaves. In 1850 there were 68,820 owners of one slave, 105,683 owners of two, three and four slaves, making together 174,503 persons who belonged to this circle, which was thus more than half of the entire number of slaveholders (reported at 347,525). This circle began to show considerable differences from both the preceding circles. It had not the means nor the servants to keep up the traditional splendor of the wealthy Southerners. Its members, especially those who followed agriculture and engaged in no profession or other business, had to labor with their hands; perhaps a majority of this class worked in the fields with their one slave or more, and thus became distinct in character and aim from the Southern gentleman who occupied himself chiefly with social and political functions. Here, then, the break starts in the ranks of the slaveholders themselves, who in this outermost circle begin to fuse with the laboring non-slaveholding Class.

Such were the three circles which we have sought to look at in their descending or oligarchic

order from the highest to the lowest, or from the center to the outer rim. But the leaders belonged mostly to the first two circles, though with leadership another principle plays in, talent. The South selected its ablest men and sent them to the seat of government continuously. Hence arose at Washington a new circle, that of the political leaders, whose head in the Fifties already was Jefferson Davis, and whose connection with the Kansas troubles has been already narrated. So we have to think that within the three circles of the aristocracy ramifying the South everywhere was the controlling circle centered at Washington, whose power wielded every department of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, and ruled the whole Nation.

It is this ruling power based upon a certain social system, which the North, based upon a different social system, is getting ready to overthrow. For the one, resting on slave labor, works aristocratically, bearing downward from above; while the other, resting on free labor, works democratically, bearing upward from below. Now it is the complete tragedy of this wonderfully organized Oligarchy which the Ten Years' War is to show, at first by ballot challenging and overthrowing its claim to govern the Nation, and then by arms destroying its rule over the non-slaveholding whites, over its own slaves, and over itself.

The character of the Oligarchy in 1860 had been developing a long time, inasmuch as we have already seen it strong enough to assert its principle in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. The South was at the start more populous and more wealthy than the North. In the first Census (1790) Virginia had more than twice the population of New York, more than Massachusetts and New York put together. The commerce and wealth of Virginia were in 1790 proportionately great; it was in fact the first commercial State in the Union. The city of Norfolk was a more important seaport than the city of New York. South Carolina stood second, and the value of foreign imports into Charleston was greater by one-half in 1760 than in 1850. In general the South had at the beginning the centers of commercial distribution, ere these changed to the North, with the ever-increasing majority of voters.

Thus the South was not in the minority at the commencement of the Nation. The persistence of South Carolina at the Constitutional Convention (1787) in the three-fifths clause, which really confirmed the slaveholding Oligarchy in its national power, was directed quite as much against Virginia as against the North. But when the South as a whole sank more and more into a political minority, it sought to retain its supremacy by skill and strategy. It had to yield

in wealth and numbers and in many other things, but it would not surrender its rule. This it could keep through the organization of the Oligarchy, which finally became universal in the South, though Virginia was at first opposed to it, and in fact did not need it, having the unquestioned primacy in population, wealth, commerce, and what was best of all, political intelligence.

What was the ground of this rise on the one side and decline on the other? The South itself would now say, as nearly all of its early great men said: slavery — absent there, present here. This caused the emigration of many of the South's best people to the North; it produced a sad deterioration of the non-slaveholding whites who remained behind; it changed for the worse the character of the slaveholders themselves with the successive generations, fostering the habit of domination, and of minority rule, inconsistent with free institutions. Over domestic life also it often cast its dark shadow.

The Southerner of the upper circles, having leisure and inclination, cultivated specially his social powers, in which he attained a high degree of excellence. He lived in public as the leading man of his community; his house was a place of generous hospitality; his bearing was usually full of courtesy, with a mild poise and ease very fascinating, except when the aristocratic haughtiness, always lurking underneath his winning

exterior, might have an eruption, which on certain topics was not hard to provoke. Still he cultivated the art of being a gentleman; a vein of romantic chivalry ran through his character, and left its impress upon his deed and word, and often upon his attire. Even after the war the South had its tournaments of chivalry, in which the victorious knight shared his honors with the lady of his heart, crowning her queen of Love and Beauty. The Southerners of the aristocratic Class were generally educated men, versed in literature and science, not indeed for the purpose of practising them, but for ornament. His real business, like that of the old Roman, was leadership, and when he wished to say something to his people, he gathered them about himself and made a speech, which often showed both thought and literary excellence, not for their own sake, however, but for their political end. Now literature, art, philosophy, science, refuse to be enslaved to some foreign purpose; they can hardly be made to bloom unless they be cultivated for their own sake and in their own free right. So it came that the South had almost no literary or artistic or scientific expression; hardly yet can it show an adequate historian for its great deeds, which still are mainly read in Northern writers, who, even when impartial in judgment, cannot help being colored by feeling.

The spirit of lordly domination crushed out

the free growth of man's great spiritual disciplines, which will not be dominated from the outside. There could be no science of sociology in the South, unless it were favorable to the system. It was notorious that freedom of opinion, particularly on slavery, was not allowed in the South. The Oligarchy, like the Hierarchy, had its *index expurgatorius*, dictated by the supposed requirements of its peculiar institution. There was a great outcry against school-books originating in the North, although the Northern publisher showed himself exceedingly pliable. It was indeed a difficult situation. What would a school-reader be without the gems of Anglo-Saxon eloquence, which were mostly inspired by liberty, the race's deepest instinct? Homer himself, the fountain of European Literature, would have to be tabooed or at least expurgated for singing "the day that makes a man a slave, takes half his worth away." The result was the sources of all artistic and literary expression seemed to be hermetically sealed, even if we may note worthy and even heroic efforts to lift the oppressive extinguisher weighing down and suffocating originality at its creative sources. There came to be almost no public for reading and seeing the world's great masterpieces. Olmsted, who rode on horseback from Texas to Virginia not long before the war, has left us a curious account of what he did not



see in the houses of his entertainers, evidently the humbler slaveholders, but representing by far the largest class numerically. He found no edition of Shakespeare, no engraving, no good copy of any famous picture, no pianoforte. There was some music, but the negroes made it and perchance some low whites, who played the fiddle for reels, jigs and plantation dances.

In all these matters a revolution has been wrought in half a century, even if a good deal remains still to be done. The best part of the old South will not be lost in the new order; it will retain its courtesy, its gentility, its hospitality, and even something of its old chivalry, we hope. The essentials of Southern character were native and inbred; we refuse to believe that they depended for their existence upon negro slavery or upon the negro in any necessary way. It needs but a small journey through the South to see that the Southern gentleman and Southern lady are still alive, even under changed outward circumstances. It is natural for them to look back to their past with a fond regret, and to paint it in ideal colors; but ask them if they would wish to see it really restored.

Statistics, though composed of figures and seemingly inflexible, can nevertheless be made to show their subject in various aspects. If the reader thinks that the foregoing Oligarchy, made up of the holders of fifty slaves

and more, is too small, let him join to it the holders of twenty to fifty, given as 29,723 in the census of 1850. Then he will have an Oligarchy of 37,000 and some hundreds. The general result, however, will be the same. De Bow, a Southerner, who was the superintendent of the census of 1850, has given this classification of slaveholders according to the number of slaves, as if he wished to bring into strong relief the various gradations of the slaveholding Class. According to him, there were only two holders of 1,000 slaves and more, and nine holders of 500 up to 1,000. In this regard slavery was different in antiquity, if Athenæus may be believed when he says he knew many Romans who possessed ten or even twenty thousand slaves (cited by Gibbon). These, even if they did not confer any direct political power, seem to have bestowed social prestige upon the owner, since he is said to have held so many "not for use but for ostentation." It came to be the ambition of the imperial Roman to have his own estate a little Roman Empire with himself as Emperor, particularly when he was deprived of any share in the government of the state. The inherited domination of centuries thus found an outlet.

Another statistical point may be mentioned. De Bow, in his list of slaveholders, includes both slave-owners and slave-hirers, the latter not

possessing any slaves and hence having no direct property interest in slavery. This Class was estimated at nearly one-half of all the slave-holders, to which Class it does not strictly belong, and from which its numbers ought to be deducted. If this deduction be made, with another small one on account of repetition, Helper estimates the number of actual slaveholders (slave-owners) to be 186,551, instead of DeBow's total of 347,525. Hence comes that statement, so frequent in the campaign literature and speeches of the Republicans in 1860, that "less than 187,000 slaveholders ruled the country" with its millions of voters. In reality, however, the Oligarchy proper was much less.

Such a state of society, in America at least, must be called an inverted pyramid, which required to be held up by very skillful propping. Evidently its organization carries within itself the impulse to its own fall. It is self-contradictory and hence self-destructive. It asserts that property in slaves is the same as property in horses and cows; still the master holds the slave accountable and punishes him, thus regarding him morally as a responsible and therefore a free being. Also the slave was recognized as an institutional being, with a right to have a family, even if this relation was often deeply violated by the master himself through separating the slave's domestic ties, and through his own passion.

Here we are brought face to face with an ominous fact which History cannot neglect. The slaveholder commingled his blood with that of the African. His own color and his own character were getting inoculated upon the black race through illicit intercourse with his negro women. It was a common saying in Virginia that her noblest blood ran in the veins of slaves. The extent of this commingling may be estimated from two facts: the mulattos were one-tenth of the colored population of the Slave-States in 1850, and one-eighth in 1860, and thus were on the road to becoming the majority of blacks when the War intervened and stopped this peculiar development of the South. In the Northern tier of Slave-States the proportion of mulattos was greater than in the Gulf States.

This process can be regarded in no other light than the undoing of slavery by itself, through the slow transformation of the black race into the white. Not through moral conviction but through immoral passion the system was undermining itself. Nature had clandestinely started to do a work of redemption which neither ethics, nor religion, nor government were able to do. Indeed they had all forbidden any such method, which, however, asserted and increased its power in spite of prohibitions moral, religious, and statutory. Those brown and even ruddy faces,

often with aristocratic lineaments, were indeed tell-tales on the white master, but they also bespoke a far deeper meaning, prophetic of the doom of slavery. Madison, with a presentiment of the coming judgment, wished for the power of turning every black skin white and thus solving the problem of the races by obliterating their difference. He did not seem to recognize that his neighbor Virginians were fulfilling his pious wish in their own fashion. And after more than four decades of freedom, those faces and their descendants are with us, still prophetic, not now of slavery's doom, but of some far-off fulfillment of racial destiny of which one at present may be permitted only to dream.

## The Non-Slaveholders.

We may now look at the second chief Class of the South, the non-slaveholding whites. What is their condition in such a society? First of all they are the great majority and have the ballot; still they are ruled and in the main led by the minority. The chief local problem of the Oligarchy was to hold well in hand this white majority of their own section. They succeeded in fostering and keeping alive something of the feudal spirit of loyalty and service in their poor population; for each great slaveholder was a kind of medieval baron in his neighborhood, being its educated man and its political leader. His mansion (or castle) was also the social center and dispensed a generous hospitality. All this came with the first settlement of the South, which was largely aristocratic, manorial, in contrast specially with that of New England. It was this surviving feudal spirit of loyalty to the lord paramount and to his cause which induced so many non-slaveholders to follow him to the Great War, and to fight his battles with such desperate valor. For certainly his cause was not theirs. Still this peculiar sentiment led the majority to pour out lavishly their blood for



a minority to rule over them, really combating their liberators.

Another fact may be noted in the present connection. In the regular army of the United States at the beginning of the war, the enlisted men from the South were in the minority decidedly, while the officers from the South were in the majority, the latter being almost wholly of the aristocratic class of slaveholders. That is, the privates were largely northern and the officers largely southern. Herein lies the reason for the statement made by Lincoln, that no enlisted man; as far as he knew, ever quit his colors to enter the ranks of secession, while half of the officers of the regular army went with the South into rebellion. The non-slaveholder showed that his personal sentiment was stronger than his national, as he would follow his slaveholding suzerain to battle, but did not enlist in his country's service. The medieval army was made up of lords and their personal retainers, and the forces of the South had something of the same character.

There were certain localities of the South, however, which having no large slaveholders, did not foster this peculiar spirit of personal loyalty, but rather the opposite. In this class the mountaineers, mentioned later, are to be placed, with their rude but very refractory independence, which often turned to bitter hatred

of the slaveholding Oligarchy of the rich lowlands. But the non-slaveholding whites who were within the sphere of influence exercised personally by the large slaveholder, followed him as their leader to the War, and fought for him and his cause with unparalleled bravery and endurance, making a record for themselves of which even their foes, who suffered most by it, are proud.

All this reveals in the non-slaveholding white a very beautiful trait, personal loyalty, a virtue we consider it, not to be dispensed with in this terrestrial life of ours. Still in him it was narrow, even if he extended it till it embraced his State, so that he became a warm defender of State-Rights. To this doctrine also, within its just limits, no true American will take objection. But why not extend loyalty till it encompasses the Union, the Nation? For all three loyalties, to Person, to State, and to Nation, ought to beat in the heart of the complete citizen, working together harmoniously in a total round of service.

Next we must grasp the fact that this second great class of the South, composed of the white non-slaveholders, numbered in 1850 about four and one-quarter millions, which was considerably more than the total black population, numbering nearly three and one-half millions, and was a good deal more than twice the three circles of

slaveholders, who with their families could not have numbered two millions. In fact, not one million, if the slave-hirers be deducted from them. The total population (1850) of the South is put at a little more than nine and a half millions; thus the white non-slaveholders almost equal the slaveholders and their slaves together (more than equal them, if Helper's estimate be taken).

Here then, are the People of the South, the free masses as distinct from slaveholders and slaves. What are their leaders doing for them? How is the Society of which they are members fulfilling its responsibility toward them? The record is universally admitted to be bad, in fact, it is the worst count in the indictment against the Southern Oligarchy, worse than the count against them on the subject of black slavery, though this must be regarded as the first cause of the evil. They allowed, and it would seem, hastened the relapse of their own white Anglo-Saxon stock to barbarism in many places; nay, their own blood was permitted often to drop back into "ignorance, poverty and crime." For instance, "the descendants of the former proprietors of the land," who were to be found "in extensive communities on the banks of the Congaree in South Carolina," were declared by a traveled Southerner to be more debased, more indolent and shiftless, more hopeless, "than the

most degraded peons of Mexico.” The sand-hillers of the same State have acquired a national reputation for having furnished visible proof that pure Anglo-Saxon blood, the most energetic and enterprising in the world, can sink back in a favorable environment after a few generations to the level of the Digger Indian. It ought to be added that some of the best men of South Carolina, though belonging to the Oligarchy, recognized and sought to remedy this condition of the wretched non-slaveholding Class. Governors repeatedly besought the State Legislature to do something. In December, 1855, Governor Adams urges almost frantically: “Make at least this effort”—the appointment of a State Superintendent of Education—and if “the poor of the land are hopelessly doomed to ignorance, poverty and crime”—which he seemed to think—“you will at least feel conscious of having done your duty, and *the public anxiety on the subject will be quieted.*” (Citations from Olmsted, Seaboard Slave States, pp. 505-6.)

Thus it would appear that South Carolina, the most oligarchic of the Oligarchy, was getting troubled over this dense mass of “ignorance, poverty and crime” ever growing denser and larger within her borders. There was “public anxiety on the subject,” and well might there be. This recalls a declaration of Broderick in 1858 to the Senate of the United States: “Two

hundred thousand men with white skins in South Carolina are now degraded and despised by thirty thousand aristocratic slaveholders." What can be the ground for such a condition? And why should Governor Adams, in spite of his urgent recommendation, reveal an undercurrent of despair, feeling that "no improvement can be made on the present system?" The truth is that the Oligarchy could not permit these ignorant masses to be educated without endangering its supremacy in its very home, in its most devoted State. A mighty blow must smite this Oligarchy from the outside and shiver it to fragments, ere that poor white non-slaveholding majority can be set free of its bonds of "ignorance, poverty and crime" — an enfranchisement, we repeat, far greater and more important than even that of the black slave, great as that is.

Perhaps South Carolina was the worst offender against its own Anglo-Saxon majority, but the other Slave-States through the same oligarchic necessity could not help sharing in the wrong. Hence that three-headed devil, "ignorance, poverty and crime," reared its monstrous shape every where in the South among the non-slaveholding class. It cannot be denied that the same fiend could be found at places in the North. But no close Oligarchy seeking to dominate with its minority, fed it there, fattening it to its colossal Southern magnitude. The motive of

Power can also be seen lurking in this diabolic business. The minority of the South shows its worst phase at this point, its deepest sin against its own citizen majority. It might and did govern the Nation, but it could not force upon the free North the portentous monster which grew to such fearful proportions, if not under its care, at least under its neglect, in South Carolina.

And now we make haste to add that by no means all, not one half of the four millions and more of non-slaveholders of the South were in the claws of this devil of the triple body (*trigemini corporis*). There were many religious communities scattered through the land of sunshine — Quakers, Memnonites and other organizations — refusing to hold slaves through conscience, and doing their own work or hiring it done by free laborers. There were also many individual farmers, prosperous, strong-boned and strong-brained, who declined for one reason or other to tamper with the dragon. Then came the considerable army of mechanics, artisans, merchants, clerks, teachers, skilled workers in the various enterprises of the land, who of course were neither slaves nor owned slaves.

Another fact should be noted in this connection: the continuous stream of migration of Southern non-slaveholders to the North. This began early from Virginia into the Northwestern



Territory, and in particular, filled up the Southern halves of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where they and their descendants have been living for a century and more, and sending forth new colonists westward. These last were chiefly the people who first poured over the border into Kansas, constituting that early majority of anti-negro Free-State protagonists whose exploits have been already celebrated.

Why did these Virginians migrate to the North? Many also came from Kentucky, the daughter of Virginia, as well as from North Carolina and other Slave States. Some dissatisfaction with slavery and its Social System for the most part lay at the root of this movement toward the new Free-States. Possibly some instinct of the day of reckoning wrought dumbly in them, as it troubled the foreboding soul of Jefferson when he "trembled" for slaveholders, as he thought of the "justice of God." The stream kept flowing till the War, and there is little doubt that the Southern States sent as many settlers into the Northwest as did the Eastern States of the North.

This migration likewise had its effect upon the South. It took, by a kind of Natural Selection, the most aspiring and progressive part of the non-slaveholders, and to a certain extent, of the small slaveholders. The father of a large

family possessed of limited means but ambitious for his children, would bundle them together into a covered wagon on some bright day and start for the free West where he, though uneducated himself, had heard that Public Schools existed in every locality for even the poorest, and that the opportunities of life were the same for all, high and humble. Nobody needed there to be born in the Oligarchy to have a chance. Thus the South lost the most enterprising portion of its less wealthy population; the "poor white trash" remained, not having energy and hope enough to try to better their condition. Moreover this migration benefitted the Oligarchy in one way; it drained off the rising discontent, which was producing some anxiety, by taking away from the non-slaveholders their most capable men, their born leaders, as well as a large per-cent of their numbers.

Still this discontent did not die out but showed itself in various ways. The people who dwelt in the mountains of the Apalachian range which runs from Maryland and Virginia through two lines of Slave-States to Georgia and Alabama, were made up of non-slaveholders mainly and of some small slaveholders. The Oligarchy did not really exist in these mountainous regions, as slave labor did not pay. Hence these people were left without local Oligarchic leaders, who lived on the rich alluvial soil of the

large valleys. Still these leaders controlled the State and its Legislature. With this power they passed laws which lightened the burden of taxation on their slave-property. The result was a standing feud between them and the mountaineers who sided against them and with the Union when the War broke out. Virginia was rent in twain by these people when the State seceded.

The poor whites had a strong prejudice against the negro and to this the Oligarchs appealed, saying that the North proposed negro equality. There was a true instinct in the horror of the poor white in this matter; he felt that his real danger was a relapse to a backward race, and it was; he knew himself sinking in the scale of civilization, and saw his future possible self in the negro. He could not read, he had no literature, he believed what the leader, the Oligarch, told him in speeches.

The peculiar mental condition of the non-slaveholding whites in the South still remains something of psychological puzzle. They were of the purest Anglo-Saxon blood, yet they seem to have largely lost the will-power supposed to be native to their stock. The ever-ready spring to take the initiative, so characteristic of the American, had gone out of them; the impulse to self-government which so dominated their English ancestry, had lapsed into a kind of apathy or helplessness against the ruling minority.

For they were overwhelmingly in the majority, but they never would or could organize themselves as Class, though their interests cried out for it in every State of the South. Aspiration, quenched at home or migrating to the North, no longer drove them to betterment, and so they sank the other way into deterioration. The deepest need of liberation in the South lay in the sphere of the poor white man, whose cause remained quite unvoiced, seemingly swallowed up in the mighty hubbub over the African.

Still the non-slaveholding Class got at last a voice in Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina, whose book called *The Impending Crisis* in the years just before the outbreak of the Great War produced no small stir. The author regards himself as the mouth piece of his Class, yea, as its prophet, for the book is full of impassioned prophecy of the slaveholder's coming doom, and the title itself has a prophetic suggestion. Helper also employs argument which he puts strongly, buttressing it with a mass of statistics, as well as with his own personal experiences. The feeling of the present time condemns many expressions in the book, and perhaps its whole spirit is too denunciatory, vengeful, and savagely rhetorical; still it doubtless gave utterance to a suppressed strain of retaliation felt in many a non-slaveholding breast, and as such has its significance for the future. No book ever written

by a Northern abolitionist, no speech ever spoken by Sumner or Seward, ever produced half the wrath, mingled seemingly with some anxiety, in the ranks of the Oligarchy. It was regarded as a fire in the rear, as an act of treason to the South, and in their sense it was. For if that vast non-slaveholding majority should ever break loose and start out for itself, what would become of the slaveholding minority and specially of its Oligarchy? No wonder that the Southern leaders denounced the book and placed it upon the forbidden index, feeling in it such a dire prophecy of the impending cataclysm. Still there was little danger for them from this Class, since the poor whites were not readers, most of them could not even read the printed appeal, which was, however, extensively circulated at the North and there produced its effect. The voice of Helper, accordingly, never reached its audience of non-slaveholders, who were to attain their liberation in a very different way.

## The Slaves.

The third great Class of the South embraced the African slaves, a vast voiceless mass which toiled for the Oligarchs and constituted the basis of their social system. The most obvious as well as deepest natural distinction among men, the distinction of race, split the division of the two Classes, master and slave, to the bottom, making it always physically present and visible, as well as spiritually manifest. In antiquity the Greek slave of the Roman master might be the philosopher, doctor, artist, and was often the superior in mind, in form, and in character. Hence in the South the doctrine of the inferior race as the ground of slavery was the favorite argument, and distinguished this, the modern, from the ancient and medieval forms of servitude.

Thus the least freedom-asserting race is subjected by and to the most freedom-asserting race. The enslaved blacks dimly knew that their liberty was at stake in the War, yet they never rose in their own cause. Really they had no power of organization; they were still gregarious, rather than associative. Since the war they have had spells of migration, which seemed to have little or no rational purpose, but to be



the stirrings of some original instinct, like the movements of wild animals. Slavery stopped such wanderings and trained the African to steady labor — no small or unimportant task by the way. We cannot help thinking that those old Egyptian Kings disciplined the primitive man, the first dweller in the Nile Valley, out of indolence and savagery, by compelling him to build the Pyramids. Early Africa had the same problems which modern Africa is still working at.

Prevalent in the South was the fear of servile insurrection. Every family in large negro districts, the mistress of a household especially, was haunted by this secret terror, which, however, was seldom uttered except in an underbreath. This was indeed the damnation of the whole system. There was on great plantations a regular patrolling of the slave quarters by night. Towns and cities were often under a kind of military surveillance. Charleston particularly was always sentineled by a strict guard, as many observers have reported. An English visitor compared the situation there to Sparta never ceasing to fear an outbreak of its Helots, which indeed often came. But the outbreak of the African slaves in the South never really came, could not come seriously without an organizing power which they did not possess. Nat Turner's so-called insurrection inflicted some outrages, but never had any backbone. The truth is, the

African is by nature a docile, submissive, clinging, parasitic race whose self is not yet fully developed to self-dependence.

How, then, could the Southerner, on the whole an excellent and usually sympathetic judge of negro character, make such a mistake, or at least have such a fear even in spite of himself? The fact rests upon a psychological element common to all men: they see in others what they themselves are and ascribe their own feelings and actions to people in the same situation. The Anglo-Saxon master knew that he would rise and fight in a minute if anybody should attempt to enslave him. He knew that his white neighbor would meet him with pistol and bowie-knife for one-tenth of the humiliation to which he subjected his negro. His own liberty-loving spirit avenged itself by inflicting upon him a secret terror for its violation. His own strong self-assertion was what made him anxious when he destroyed self-assertion in another. He could not help unconsciously judging the negro by himself, and putting himself in his place. What then would happen? Insurrection, revenge, bloodshed; his imagination, stimulated by the law of his own action, would call up the scene, which many a Southern orator elaborated with gory fullness, well knowing that he stirred a deep response in the souls of his hearers. Only he would speak the fact, but probably he did not think out the ground of

this lurking terror, itself largely groundless. That is, its ground was internal lying in the slave holder, not external lying in the slave, as time showed in the most decisive manner. It was indeed the ever present Nemesis of freedom punishing the free man for violating what was deepest and strongest in himself. The return of the deed upon the doer through himself we have to deem it, not through the hand of his victim; a form of retaliation it is which the soul of the master inflicts upon itself in requital for its own wrongs done upon the unavenging slave. Here is also the grand act of liberation which the War brought to the larger slaveholder specially, who was thereby freed from the inner, secretly consuming Fury of his social life. For the evidence shows that slavery begat a Gorgon terror-inspiring in its participators, even when there was little or no real cause for such terror. The same fact was observed in the slaveholding countries of antiquity, Greece and Rome, which, however, had far more reason for their anxiety, as they enslaved men of their own color and race, yea of their own nationality. Thus the race-training and the race-feeling were then common to both slave and master, and exerted themselves mightily to obliterate the distinction.

The census of 1850 states the number of slaves exclusive of free blacks, to be 3,177,000; of these more than half, 1,800,000 were employed

(according to De Bow) in raising cotton. In this fact we again note the centralization of slave industry, in contrast with the free industry of the North. Cotton furnished more than half the value of the total exports of the country (76+millions of dollars out of 136+millions). Hence rose the cry that cotton was king, and the South was led to believe that the North, and England, and even Europe could not exist without her staple. Thereby too the feeling of domination, already sufficiently developed, was enormously inflated, and made the Cotton States so imperious not only over the North, but over Virginia and the more Northern Slave-States. Indeed they imagined they held the key to the rule of the world. Virginia was peculiarly threatened; she had become slave-breeder for the cotton fields, which always required a new supply of negroes. Already in 1832 it was estimated that Virginia sent annually 6,000 negroes to the lower South. This most degrading crop of human bone and muscle had become one of her chief sources of wealth; we shall see the extreme South threatening to cut it off if Virginia proved refractory. From the landing of the first negro slaves in 1619 on the shores of the James, Virginia seems to have remained the chief center of black expansion, though also at the same time the center of early opposition to slavery.

It is generally agreed at present that slave-labor is the most expensive of all kinds of labor. Human force as mechanical merely is weak and wasteful; man as a machine is the slave, man as the machine-controller is the free man. Slavery is thus an economic evil, and also a moral evil, and what is deeper still, an institutional evil. The self which owns itself is the sole atomic constituent which can make a free State. A self which is owned by another self introduces at once a jarring contradiction into the institutional world, which is to secure the free will and not slavery. It was said by an eminent Southerner that Capital must own its Labor; but the age says that Labor must own itself and then Capital. A free man must go into everything made in this country, on this continent, and finally on this globe. The self-owning self must indeed labor and just through its labor must win its economic freedom. Then it must also be self-governing and win its institutional freedom. Such a person will raise corn and potatoes, and also cotton, but at the same time will raise another crop, that of free Institutions. So the great problem is to transform the Union into an Institution productive of Free-States, which transformation may be already seen reaching out beyond the Territories into the Slave-States themselves. Shall the toiler not be a man but a piece of property belonging to another?

Shall he earn his bread by his own sweat, or make another sweat for him? In the long run, however, it has been found that the man who makes others sweat for him, is made to sweat himself even more than they, and eats not the best, but the costliest bread produced by human labor.

There is even in slavery a process toward freedom for the slave, who in a manner renders his master unfree, dependent, determined from the outside. It is the slave who through his enforced labor makes his master a member of the Economic Order, giving him his wealth and to a degree his social position. Thus the master is through the slave, he cannot remain master and dispense with the slave, who, however, can dispense with his master when he has learned to labor, and thus becomes internally his own master. Slavery has an intrinsic tendency to do away with itself. The master is but the intermediate link which becomes unnecessary when the slave does his work through himself. Such was the discipline of slavery for the black man; it gave him slowly the power through industry to become a member of the Social Whole, which receives his labor instead of his master, and pays him his reward. This is economic freedom which the Southern negro has not yet fully attained, but is attaining. Political freedom cannot take its place, cannot even be



real without economic freedom, which the black man must acquire by tilling the soil and taking hold of the trades and the industries.

Hitherto slavery must be regarded as a condition through which human Development passes, as a stage in the unfolding of the World's History. It is significant to see how ready were the early European colonists in America to enslave the two backward races, the African and the Indian. Cupidity was undoubtedly a motive and a strong one; still another element entered, that of making the idle savage work and thus of causing him to become an integral member of the social organism. Our ancestors knew no other method of bringing the natural man out of indolence and barbarism than by enslaving him, by taking away that will of his which, if left to itself, would not exert itself in labor. The savage indeed would endure fatigue and hunger, he was capable of strenuous effort in war and the chase; but he knew not the Social Whole as the object of effort, till he was trained by Civilization, which usually enslaved him, chaining him literally to his task. At the same time such servitude was necessarily self-undoing, since its end was attained when the slave had learned to work and to produce his contribution to society through his own will and not through that of the master. This period is indicated in the History of Nations by the servile revolt, of which Rome has fur-

nished so many striking examples. But there was no servile revolt of the blacks in the South during the War—a fact of great significance, indicating among other things that they were not yet socially ready. It was really the white man who was ready for the abolition of slavery and called for it in his own interest. And we have to add, the World-Spirit was ready for it, ready to train the backward races through some other and higher instrumentality than servitude. For they have still to be disciplined into the civilized order of the world, but the discipline must take place through education directly, as the explicit conscious end. Slavery was educative indirectly, though the master had no such purpose. But it always brought in its train the terrible curse of war and political dissolution. Civilization is now strong enough and humane enough to educate the savage without enslaving him. The American Ten Years' War was the end of the slavery's discipline of the Race, and the beginning of a new epoch in the school of Mankind. Though a war too, it was waged against the sources of war, a war it was to end at least one great cause of war.

As we have often invoked the Genius of Civilization or the World-Spirit in other matters, we may here ask ourselves: What is it trying to do with the blacks? Evidently slavery has been for them a great schooling; they are made to

work from the outside that they may learn to work from the inside, and thus become participators in the socio-economic institution, whereby they get the sense of property and its ownership. As slaves they cannot strictly own anything, not owning themselves, their Wills, which belong to the master. Yet even here the process shows itself. For after all, the master presupposes in the slave a Will self-determining within its sphere, and hence endows him with responsibility, even if limited. The master assigns to his slave a task and perchance punishes him if it is not done. Both the task and the punishment tacitly acknowledge a realm of freedom, which cattle and horses, not to speak of lifeless property, do not possess. Thus the master is secretly training his slaves to freedom through holding them accountable, and even through punishment. Here again we note that slavery is internally self-undoing, even if externally this process be hindered and delayed in its result. The slave, or let us think him specially the enslaved Will, being owned as property by another Will and laden with duties, however humble, is slowly getting a Will of his own, which in turn can own, and thus not simply be but have property. Then he has joined the Social Whole whose end is the economic freedom of all its members. As before said, this is the true condition and antecedent of any real political freedom, as the history of the en-

franchised negro in the South has abundantly shown since the War.

So we may see that the World-Spirit through the discipline of slavery has taken in hand the Black Race which it is training up into institutional freedom. Moreover it is the American negro who is to be brought into participation with the World's Civilization through the institutions of his birth-land. He is not to be sent back to Africa, there to lose what he has here won, in the vast savagery of a Continent, or even by becoming European. Colonization in its present form would make undone what the World-Spirit has done with a purpose. This was the purpose which the Oligarchy unconsciously subserved during its day of power; and still more completely by its ever-memorable fight apparently for African slavery, but really for African enfranchisement. Such, then, is the problem before us: This most un-Aryan, and we can also say, this least Caucasian of all the races — white, yellow, red, black — this black race is put under training to the American Aryan or Caucasian, who thus has to reach quite back to the beginning of his human kind in the early man, releasing the latter from an outer and inner bondage, and endowing him with an ideal of freedom through a long, painful discipline, productive of many woes to both sides. But the task has to be done, being imposed by

the World-Spirit, which knows how to bring about fulfillment of its behest even through the most bitter resistance and antipathy, whose method indeed is often to make a people do the very opposite of what it thinks it is doing.

And the thought may be here added that the higher development of national consciousness is to become fully aware of this World-Spirit, and harmonious with its purpose. War has been hitherto its means because of the ignorant and refractory nations with which it has dealt, and which have had to be disciplined into knowledge of its plan as well as into obedience to its command. Though in the History of the past, it has been largely unconscious in the people which has been its chosen bearer, its destiny is to become a conscious principle of national action, and perchance to have its place or representative in Government itself. Then the outer spectacle of the rise, bloom, and fall of Nations which has been heretofore the course of the World's History will cease, being taken up into the inner development of the single Nation and made the process of its perpetuity — its decline being always counteracted by its new rise. And the World-Spirit is no longer to appear as an external Power over the Nations, but their internal Power, organized into their very Constitution. Such is the end toward which History is moving, seeking to get its deepest process inside the



Nation wholly, which process has been so largely outside of it hitherto, and hence destructive of it at last.

Racial freedom is, then, what the World-Spirit has enjoined upon the American Folk-Soul; moreover this racial freedom must be elevated out of mere caprice and barbarism, and made institutional, and that too made institutional in the American sense. The African is to be trained into a political consciousness which is State-producing, yea productive of the Free-State, even if he has no such consciousness developed at present. Such is clearly the injunction of the World-Spirit, never before laid upon any nation. The contest for freedom has indeed been perennial, springing up at the start of History and passing through many stages. But here the command is distinctively racial freedom, and that too of the humblest race. Of such freedom, moreover, the Hero has appeared, an Aryan Hero, the last and seemingly the greatest of a long line reaching back through the World's History, whose process may be seen through him to be getting more and more inside the Nation, thus freeing it of its own destroying Furies within and also without. An Aryan Hero we call him, yet also the Hero of another race different from his own, greater than Alexander or Caesar, military Heroes limited to their own race and determining it chiefly.



Thus the former slaves of the South having become freedmen and also citizens, have introduced a new world-historical problem whose working-out reaches far into the future. For the World's History as hitherto developed and recorded, has been chiefly confined to one race, we may call it *uniracial*. But at present many indications show that the World's History is expanding its limits to include the several races; hence we may call it *multiracial*. Within a dozen years the yellow race has joined the world-historical procession not merely of the Nations but of the Races, not being forced into it from the outside by a stronger Race, but entering it voluntarily through unsurpassed deeds of heroism. Using our nomenclature, which we hope our reader is beginning not only to apprehend but for the nonce to accept and even to enjoy, we may say that the World-Spirit took a great new step by starting to be multiracial during and after the American Ten Years' War. The supreme political units of European History have mainly been tribes and nations of the same general ethnic character, of the same Race, however different they may otherwise have been. But at present we see the beginnings of a vast change; the ultimate political units of History are getting to be racial, rising above and including Nations. It would seem, then, that the Races are to constitute together the supreme

process of the World's History, and to attain a new institutional unity of total Mankind, a new federation of some sort evolving out of yet different from the hitherto existent governmental forms known as State, Empire, Republic. Nationality has been great, but raciality seems destined to become greater.

So much in regard to African Slavery as racial, and its place and part in the world-historical movement of the Ages past and present, with tentative glimpses of the future. Coming back from such a far-extending journey of outlooks, we must recall the cleft American Folk-Soul with its Northern and Southern halves ever growing more disunited externally, yet internally revealing the mightier looming task that one side must assimilate the other in this deepest matter of slavery. The foregoing Classism is destined to be smitten to fragments, whereby the three great Classes of the South are to be broken up, their crystallized limits shivered to atoms politically, and a new organization begun. Each Class is to be in its own peculiar way liberated, though burdened with new duties. The Oligarchy with its minority rule in Nation, State and Class, is in these years challenging its fate through developing to maturity the germ of Secession, which, implicit in the Federal Union since its formation, now becomes explicit and puts forth its complete flower.

### CHAPTER III. — THE PROCESS OF SE- CESSION.

The general character of the three years before us (1858–1861) has been already designated as that of Separation, Antagonism, Disunion. We have just witnessed the development of the North and South into two opposing social and political systems, which have become so heterogeneous and mutually uncongenial that they can no longer live together. One must fundamentally transform the other in the matter of slavery, which is the ever-irritating source of difference. There can be no compromise, no half-way stopping-place: the North must metamorphose the South, or the South the North; or, in the words of Lincoln, which we have already cited as the key-note or leading-motive of the present period: “This Government cannot permanently endure half-slave and half-free. It will become all one thing or all the other.” Just now the struggle

is: Which shall it be? Each side is resisting the movement of the other. The result is, the Union is visibly disuniting itself into its two great constituents, Northern and Southern. This separation passes through several stages, which we shall put together, calling it the Process of Secession. The positive act of separation springs from the Oligarchy, while the counter action of it rises out of the People. The culmination will be when the Slave-States, or two tiers of them, secede from the Union and thereby make Secession a reality.

The fact has been already noted that the year 1858 changed the whole political outlook of the Southern Oligarchy. It had lost the North completely, which had sent a hostile House of Representatives, whose character will be shown by the election of a Republican Speaker. It had failed to make Kansas a Slave-State, thus admitting a preponderance of Free-States even in number, not to speak of wealth and population. But chiefly it had called up in the North a political Party whose cardinal doctrine was that there must be no more Slave-States for all future time. Thus the South felt itself limited, hampered in its maintenance of Power, yea, dominated in its turn by a section which it had always dominated. Its mightiest thunderbolt, launched by the Supreme Judiciary of the land against this Party, had not only missed its object,

but turned out a boomerang. It cannot extend even Southward if the Republican doctrine of prohibiting slavery in the Territories already acquired or hereafter to be acquired, should prevail. Thus a limit is drawn on all sides around the South which it passionately resents. Formerly it drew its own limits, as well as those of the North, which has now become so arrogant as to think of governing its governors.

This situation gives the clue to much said and done in the South during the present period. There was a passionateness in word and action which now seems extravagant, and which certainly did not help its cause. But we must bring before us a proud and imperious people or rather Oligarchy, which, accustomed to rule, beholds suddenly the prospect of being ruled by those whom it has ruled. Such a condition was felt to be an outrage unendurable. It was almost as bad as if the slaves should rise up and prescribe the law for Southern gentlemen. In the North nothing could be more natural than the rule of the majority; in the South nothing could be more natural than the rule of the minority, that is of the Oligarchic minority. The business of this minority had long been to rule majorities both in the States where it existed and in the Nation. So the South boiled over with passion which started from its dominating center, at the restrictions put upon it by

the majority. Now the form which this passion chiefly took was the menace. The angry South shook its finger at the North and threatened and stormed if a Republican should be elected President. This threat was universally the dissolution of the Union. Southerners would not obey such a President even if constitutionally chosen. They were minority rulers, and were only asserting their principle in their menace against the majority. Moreover, this threatening manner was born of their relation to their slaves, who were cowed into obedience by an intimidating look or word. Jefferson has noted that such a manner was imitated already by children from the example of the parents. It is not, therefore, wronging the Southern slaveholder to say that the menace came natural to him, springing both from inheritance and education. In a way he could hardly help himself in his environment; his life, his character, his world was a minority dominating and hence more or less intimidating the majority, in fact four majorities in his case, as we have seen.

So the present period (1858-61) was decidedly tinged with the menace, of which, however, the North was not wholly free. Passion begets counter passion, and threat rouses threat in turn. Besides, the North had its born gasconaders and threateners. Still the Northern social condition did not engender the menace, at least not the



minority's menace of the majority. The North was not heard to threaten the disruption of the Union, if a President were fairly elected, or if its view were not adopted by the majority of the Nation. Once New England States did indulge in such threats, but this method had long since migrated to the South, which some times has claimed to have learned it from the Old North. During the period now under consideration we may imagine the two sections in various menacing attitudes glowering at each other across Mason and Dixon's line, which still keeps them apart, though each side in its deepest, even if unconscious drift, is aligning itself for the coming struggle.

It may be here noted that each side mistook the other. The North regarded the menace of the Southerners as mere bluster which they would not undertake to carry out by dissolving the Union. This threat had been used so often before that it was worn thread-bare and was scoffed at by the North. The election of Buchanan turned on its skillful employment, but it could never serve again any such purpose. On the other hand the South thought that the Northerners would yield before fighting. Such a view was natural. The slaveholder lived in a yielding world, his slaves yielded, and the non-slaveholders yielded; he could hardly help believing that the North would yield. Such was the delusion which lay deep in his consciousness,

and which went far toward determining his action.

Already in 1858, the question of the Presidency loomed up portentously in the Southern mind. The elections of that year showed that the Republicans might choose the chief magistrate of the Nation in 1860. Enough of the States which voted for Buchanan in 1856 had deserted the Democratic column to secure a Presidential victory to its enemy. Moreover the Democrats were hopelessly divided and their disintegration was on the increase, while the Republicans were growing more united and compact, particularly after Lincoln's campaign against Douglas. Thus the executive office at Washington becomes the objective point toward which and round which the movement of the time mostly turns. We have already seen the Administration at Washington as the chief source of the Kansas irritation, trying to make it a Slave-State. Then the Oligarchy wielded the power of the Government, but now the power seems to be passing over to the hands of the North, which is striving to reach the center of irritation so productive of evil on the border.

So Washington will remain an important part of the present process, but rather as the irritated than the irritating center. It will be the arena to which the combatants come for their preliminary struggle. The Buchanan Administration, always weak, has quite spent its aggressive

strength on Kansas, where it has failed. It also tried to defeat Douglas in Illinois, in which it scored another failure. It dallied a little with the hope of getting Cuba for the South. Jefferson Davis, in a speech to his Mississippi constituents spoke of new Territory to be acquired beyond the Rio Grande. But the Oligarchy was well aware that another and far deeper question must first be settled, just that of Union or Secession under the incoming dominance of the North.

If the executive branch of Government, with its decrepit head and lukewarm cabinet had sunk into insignificance, the legislative branch was all the more active and became the scene of the first Alignment of the two representative parties, as well as of their earliest onsets. The Congress of 1858-9 manifests often violently in word and deed the separative character of the era before us. But the year 1860 has another Alignment, in which the Nation takes part, that of the Presidential election, peaceful though ominous. After this election follows at once the third Alignment, that of Secession, upon which question all the States, Northern and Southern, have to take sides and toe the battle-line.

These three Alignments will furnish the guiding-thread of our Exposition, since they bring out and emphasize the Process of Secession no longer lying dormant but becoming a reality, no longer a menace but a deed.

## The First Alignment.

Though the relations between the North and South were continually shifting, the two sides were getting into a definite Alignment in the Congressional year of 1858-9. Each section was aware of the approaching struggle, and had selected its protagonists in the election of 1858. These were to meet at the center, Washington, where the preliminary maneuvering and skirmishing was to take place in Congress, particularly in the House of Representatives. The outcome will be what we may call the First or Congressional Alignment in the Process of Secession.

The waning domination of the South or of its Oligarchy began to show itself decisively during the events of this Congressional Alignment. Kansas lost, the Democratic party beaten in the North, the Administration helpless, marked the drift of the time, which was accentuated by the election of a Republican Speaker of the National House of Representatives. The ill-luck continued in the Presidential election and finally in the War itself. At Washington the political rent became social, and threw its cloud over the gayety of the Capital. The ladies divided on the line of North and South, and the coming change of domination was reflected in the actions

and even in the faces of the women of the two contending sections.

This first swirl in the Process of Secession sweeping from the circumference of the land to the center at Washington, and there seething for a year or more till the two sides distinctly and permanently align themselves in Congress, is what the reader is now to reproduce and re-enact in his own brain. He must not only see an irritated South and an irritated North but also feel in himself these mutual and conflicting irritations which are getting heated to the point of breaking out into open combat on the battle-field.

1. *The irritated South.* The feeling of irritation of the South against the North in 1858, on account of its political reverses and the limits put upon it in a variety of ways, had risen to wrath and to a kind of defiance, which showed itself in the elections of that year. The men chosen were its Hotspurs, its extremists, who no doubt represented the mood of their electorate, which was of course determined by the Oligarchy.

The general result of this First Alignment may be here indicated: The Oligarchy makes up its mind not to take political defeat in the Nation at the coming Presidential election. The Southern minority has now to conclude whether or not it will be ruled by the National majority, which has so decidedly expressed itself in the North. More-

over one such submission in the Nation would mean the ultimate submission of the minority to the majority as a principle, and that signifies the overthrow of the Oligarchy at home in its own section, not at once perhaps, but in the course of years. Hence it resolves at this time that it will not, and indeed cannot submit to a Republican President. Great is the stake; if it will not take political defeat, it courts military defeat, which will end not only its National rule, but all its four supremacies. The Oligarchy, having good heads, could not have been unaware of the extreme hazard of their purpose, but they resolved to take it, risking the whole sweep of their authority with the future thrown in.

Thus the Southern cavaliers come up to the Capital from the outlying districts, ready to fling down the gage of battle to their Northern antagonists on the Congressional arena, full of a haughty disdain, somewhat like their medieval prototypes. Jefferson Davis, their leader, took the palm of being the most arrogant man in Washington, which palm, however, was conferred on him by his foes, though it seems not to have been challenged by his friends. But they all showed defiance in word, look and act, the defiance of the minority against the majority, as they stepped up to that battle-line of words on the floor of Congress.

2. *The irritated North.* There was a feeling



of irritation also in the North against the South, on account of Kansas, and the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeated threats to dissolve the Union. But the strongest power working in the Folk-Soul of the North was the conviction of the wrong of slavery. Then there was the deep protest against minority rule, particularly when this minority not only used means but pursued objects reprobated by the great body of the Northern people. Southern leadership in itself was not offensive, but had been rather congenial to Northerners, who would still have followed men like Washington, Jefferson and Marshall, had they been in existence. Abraham Lincoln, the greatest leader of the North, was a born Southerner, and retained much of his Southern instinct to the last.

The menaces of the South necessarily brought the North to consider the question whether or not it would fight for the Union in case of the election of a Republican President. It too was pondering the future and making up its mind, though doubtless in a very vague, fluctuating way. But the issue of Secession is fermenting within and will not catch it wholly unprepared, when the time of action arrives.

The Northern Congressmen came to Washington at this session (1858-9), in a much less heated condition than the Southern. The cause of this difference is manifest: the one side was

the loser and felt itself to be sinking, while the other was the winner and felt itself to be rising. Thus the Northerners, besides being less impetuous by nature, had good reason for indulging in an even-tempered serenity or perchance quiet elation, which suggestively contrasted with the defiant and arrogant mood of the Southerners, who sallied into scene of action already at white heat. Later, however, the Northern temper rose through continued irritation, and became the aggressor in turn, after the South had begun to cool off. Thus the course of this Congressional contest was curiously analogous to the course of the Great War, in which the South was more alert and victorious at the start, till the North woke up to the task, increasing its effort till the successful end. Accordingly, we shall pass to the central spot, along with both sides gathering there, to see the preliminary muster and tournament of the combatants.

3. *The Capital.* In Washington, then, the two clashing sections come together and show their antagonism, particularly in the House of Representatives which is fresh from the people. Three days after the execution of John Brown, Congress met (December 5th, 1859), in a fever of excitement. The Southern members especially were overflowing with wrath and retaliation and menaces of revolution. John Brown had really converted them or many of them;

they threatened to do for Slavery what he had done against Slavery, threatened to do essentially the same deed for the doing of which they had hung him.

The Republicans had more members of the House than any other party, but not the majority of the total membership. A Speaker was to be chosen, and hence there had to be some kind of a combination of parties. The South had three main grievances — Brown, Seward, and Helper, the last being the author of *The Impending Crisis*. Sherman, the Republican candidate for Speaker, had signed a recommendation of Helper's book for a campaign document, without having read it however. This recommendation was made the basis of a furious attack upon him, since the book was deemed very offensive and indeed dangerous to the Oligarchy, as it was a passionate and often vengeful appeal to the non-slaveholding whites of the South to throw off minority rule. Already on the second day of the session there was almost a personal encounter between the two sides in the area of the House, into which there was a common rush, but the cooler heads of both sections interfered and held back their headstrong friends. The Southern men did most of the talking, which was usually in a vein of passionate menace and denunciation. The interest is to note their anathemas upon John Brown followed by declara-

tions of their own John Brownism. "We will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President," said a representative from Georgia (Crawford), with the hearty applause of the Southern members. That is, they would not submit to Law and Constitution. Roger A. Pryor, member from Virginia, excites special interest by his heated charge that Helper's book "riots in rebellion, treason, and insurrection," though Pryor himself hardly did anything else but indulge in the same kind of rioting. When it was found that Sherman could not be elected, Pennington, a conservative Republican from New Jersey, was taken up and chosen February 1st, 1860, on the forty-fourth ballot.

Spontaneously arises in the mind a comparison with the election of Banks as Speaker of the House in the same month of 1856. Though that contest lasted a little longer, and though the North and South were then arrayed against each other, there was good-humor throughout, and an optimistic feeling that all would turn out right in the end. It is true that threats of dissolving the Union were then heard, but not taken as serious; a member from Virginia who indulged in a hot threat of the kind was laughed down by the House with a good-natured "Oh, no," in which most of the Southerners joined. The feeling was very different now on their part, since they showed

themselves ready to echo in applause every violent sentiment on their side and even to manifest personal hostility on the floor of the House. Most of them came armed to the sessions, which fact becoming known caused a similar preparation on the part of the Northern men. Thus the two sides stood in a kind of battle array for many days with weapons ready though not yet openly drawn, which we may well call the First or Congressional Alignment, as it was the typical thing of the time, the concentration of its meaning in a single act and place.

After the election of Speaker the bow unbent for a while; but it was a mistake to think that the animosity was at an end. Another outbreak, the worst of all, took place in the House on April 5th during the speech of Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, whose brother had been murdered some years before by a pro-slavery mob at Alton. Lovejoy's words were violent and even vengeful; in his speech he did not disguise his personal feeling of retaliation: "You shed the blood of my brother twenty years ago on the banks of the Mississippi; I am here to-day, thank God, to vindicate his principles," and, it may be added, to pay you back. During his speech Lovejoy advanced from the Republican benches to the side of the Southerners, and, in the language of one of them, was "shaking his fist in our faces," when the eruption came. Again



three or four dozen angry men from each side made a rush for the open space, apparently in order to get at one another unimpeded by the seats and desks; but only loud volleys of billingsgate were discharged, in which contest the Southerners had the advantage, if we may judge from the following choice morsel of the Mississippian Barksdale: "Order that black-hearted scoundrel and nigger-stealing thief to take his seat, and this side of the House will do it" — the words were addressed to the Speaker commanding order, and referred to Lovejoy.

On the whole the Northerners were the aggressors in this affair, and unduly provoked the opposition which had begun to show signs of greater moderation. One result must be noticed: the challenge to fight a duel sent by Pryor of Virginia to Potter of Wisconsin. Potter, having the choice of weapons, chose the bowie-knife, which Pryor's second declined as a mode of combat "vulgar, barbarous and inhuman." And yet the bowie-knife was generally regarded as the South's peculiar if not emblematic weapon. Potter suddenly became a hero to the North, having made in its opinion a blustering Southerner quail at the gleam of his own blade. And the further inference was drawn that the South's bark was worse than its bite; in fact many believed that in the end it would not bite at all. Such a view was reinforced by the remembrance



of the parallel duel between Brooks and Burlingame four years before, which also turned out a fizzle through the back-down of the Southern challenger. On the other hand, the South believed that the North would not fight, because the latter was conscientiously opposed to the duel, and on account of its many historic yieldings to the Southern threat of the dissolution of the Union. Certainly the modest estimate was current in Dixie that one Southerner could whip two Northern men at least, and often his claim rose to being equal to four of them. Of course the War disabused both sides of their delusions on this subject and taught North and South not only mutual respect but admiration for their common American valor.

From the House we pass to the Senate, where was taking place the same Alignment, though the proceedings were physically not so vigorous and mentally not so explosive. The time was chiefly occupied in maneuvering for the approaching Presidency. The leading candidates were in the Senate, Douglas and Seward, both from the North; the fact is significant, that the South, in times past the furnisher of Presidents, had now no candidate. It had, however, a leader of its Oligarchy, which was working to name the candidate, or, as his election seemed hopeless, to dissolve the Union. The head and spokesman of the Oligarchy was Jefferson Davis, between

whom and Douglas lay the fight which had in view the coming Democratic nomination. Douglas reaffirmed his Popular Sovereignty, Davis asserted the absolute right of property in slaves and its protection in the Territories by the Government. By these discussions the rent in the Democratic party was not only widened, but each side took its position, aligning itself for the Convention soon to be held. The effect upon Douglas must be noted as it determined his future political attitude. He became fully convinced that the Oligarchy meditated Secession, and he made up his mind to fight it with all his might. In fact Davis pushed him to take such a stand. In his heart he became more hostile to the Oligarchy, which hostility it bitterly returned, than he was to the Republicans, with whom he had at least Unionism in common.

Seward, the supposed candidate of the Republicans for the Presidency, participated also in these Senatorial discussions. April 29th he made a speech which may be deemed his preparatory statement addressed to the Republican National Convention. As the South took for granted that he would be nominated, it directed its guns chiefly against him, indulging in unmeasured abuse, even to the point of calling him a traitor. But Seward was an even-tempered man, and the key-note of his speech was moderation. He noticed the Southern threats of dis-

union, but he did not believe that there would be any attempt to execute them. Then "it will be an overflowing source of shame" if the North and South cannot live harmoniously together, and "preserve our unequaled institutions." Where now is his "irrepressible conflict" which is certainly raging hotter than ever? In these Senatorial debates of 1860, Douglas showed himself the deeper-seeing man, the greater statesman, the more resolute defender of his principle and of the Union. Seward leaves the impression that he would run the danger of compromising away the victory which his Party might win. His speech could not help creating distrust of his leadership. Far different was the tone, or we might say the undertone of Lincoln's speech at Cooper's Institute in New York City, delivered two days before Seward's in the Senate. That inspired confidence and showed firmness in the leading tenet of the Party, so that not a few Eastern Republicans began also to see that their true leader had appeared. Seward likewise dropped his doctrine of the "Higher Law," which Lincoln had never countenanced. Such are the Presidential protagonists who now step to the front out of the first or Congressional Alignment, getting ready for the second or that of the Presidency.

In the discussions of the Southern Congressmen of this period one cannot help hearing a deep note of spiritual discord, of inner self-con-

tradiction. They abused Seward for his statement of the "irrepressible conflict;" yet their words and often their actions were a pungent and overwhelming vindication of Seward's rather mild apothegm; they seemed bent on proving that the conflict was irrepressible just in their denial of it. Then they denounced Helper's book as inciting servile insurrection, though Helper did not appeal to the negro at all, being rather unfriendly to him if anything, but to the non-slaveholding whites. These, constituting the great majority of the South, Helper called on to overthrow the Oligarchic minority, which thereupon sent up such a shout of wrath that they simply told on themselves throughout the length and breadth of the land, emphasizing as never before by their very outcries the weakest and worst spot in their system. Then as to the much belabored subject of John Brown already mentioned, it was an unconscious comedy that so many of them, while damning the old Puritan to the hottest fires of Inferno, should compass, in speech at least, their own damnation by threatening to do what he did.

The three ground-themes of this Congress — Seward, Helper, and Brown — with their manifold variations tuneful and dissonant, have now been fairly exhausted, though echoes of them will be still heard during the coming campaign. To this with its Alignment of the whole People, we pass from Congress.

## The Second Alignment.

We have now come to another Presidential year (1860) which has its similarities to, yet differences from, the previous one (1856). The North is again reaching out for the seat of national Power, for the executive branch of Government, but the South, or at least its Oligarchy is inclined to recede from the center, and indeed to secede, forming a center of its own. Its character and its watchword say separation, so that its Party, the Democratic, shows itself separating on every side. On the other hand the Republican Party was not only united but stood for the Union against Separation and Disunion. It is true that the North was divided into two main Parties; but the Democrats followed Douglas, whose Popular Sovereignty now meant practically Free-Statehood for Kansas, and for most if not all the Territories. It had been shown that not only the Northerners but a large part of the non-slaveholding Southerners emigrating to the West for new homes, would make Free-States out of the public domain. Thus Popular Sovereignty meant practically, if not theoretically, Free-Statehood, and this the Oligarchy well knew, so that it came to hate Douglas more

than an outright Republican, deeming him a renegade.

A still deeper ground of unanimity in the North between the Republicans and the Douglas Democrats was their common hostility to the Oligarchic rule of the minority. In fact the principle of Popular Sovereignty declares this hostility more explicitly than the Republican doctrine. By it the Will of the majority is made to determine slavery, a view very unpalatable to the Oligarchy, whose life is minority rule. Here we may place the ground of the bitter attack upon Douglas led by Jefferson Davis in the Senate after the debate with Lincoln. There is little doubt that Douglas felt after that debate that he had more in common with Lincoln than with Davis, with the Republican North and Union than with the Democratic South and Disunion. As he listened to Lincoln on the same platform, and heard the mighty response of the People, he too underwent something of a change within, and began to take a few draughts of that Folk-Soul, from which his Washington environment had so long separated him. For Douglas was in a number of points a different man after his Illinois experience; he then got aligned for the real contest, and it was Lincoln who aligned him all unconscious to himself.

The great fact of the present year (1860) is its conventions and the resulting campaign, end-



ing in the election of Lincoln. These were more significant, fuller of destiny than those of 1856; also they sprang more directly from the People. The government at Washington had little influence over either convention, so completely had Buchanan's Administration nullified itself in the popular mind of both sections. Still one could count many office-holders at Charleston, and even more office-seekers at Chicago. Kansas could no longer furnish its crop of bleeding horrors as campaign ammunition for the Republicans, who, nevertheless had to affirm as their main article of faith that the Union must henceforth produce Free-States.

The Process of Secession has thus reached its Second Alignment in the two great Conventions of the year, Republican and Democratic. Really of these Conventions there were five, if not six or more; indeed they are not easy to count, so great has become the disintegration of Parties, particularly of the Democratic Party, each Particle of which has a tendency to rush into a Convention, draw up resolutions, and make a platform. The spirit of Secession is already rampant, manifesting itself ideally, in the word, ere it becomes real, the fact.

1. *The Republican Convention.* First of all, it was held in Chicago, the youngest city of importance in the young West, the most aspiring, the most limit-transcending city in the Union,

and even in the World. The place of meeting corresponded with the Party, both being the bearers of a great destiny. In 1856 the Republican organization chose Philadelphia, an old city of the Old-Thirteen, as the point for assembling its delegates and nominating its President. But it has moved West with the People, with the much-sung course of Empire, and this external fact of mere locality intimates, even if dimly, the real trend and meaning of the Convention. Chicago's 100,000 population were not only increasing but doubling with marvelous rapidity.

Compared with the Convention of 1856 that of 1860 had a far greater number of practical politicians, and of office-seekers. The good and bad results of such a presence did not fail. The idealists, the dreamers, the extremists did not control the platform or the nominations. No Fremont was possible with this set of men, no Seward even, who was found at the trying moment to lack that supreme political test, availability. At first indeed it seemed to be Seward against the field; but soon the contest was narrowed down to Seward versus Lincoln — the East against the West, the old against the new, the original States against the derived. Which will win in the cast for leadership of the Party of the Future?

Devices and political tricks were employed by both sides. Tom Hyer, prize-fighter for Seward,

was certainly out-yelled by Doc Ames, of Illinois, a human fog-horn capable of being heard shouting for Lincoln above the ten thousand throats of the Wigwam. Enormous quantities of drink stimulated the animal of the Convention, and money was not wanting to tempt the more subtle demon of cupidity. So it went on both sides with prodigious clatter, diamond cut diamond, and devil scorch devil. But outside and above this infernal part, there is no doubt that the majority of delegates and visitors were men of character and strong moral conviction, representing in its best phase the idea which called the party into existence.

The platform was a masterstroke of both policy and principle, hitting the golden mean both in what it did and did not affirm. It gave validity to the moral element, but deftly steered clear of any statement which might compromise the party's institutional attitude. Not a word about the Fugitive Slave Law, though the hostility to slavery was the whole drift of the document. The Dred Scott decision was not mentioned though the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was affirmed. There was nothing about the Higher Law in it, though many a soul in that Convention was quivering with the inner conflict between Conscience and the Constitution. It was essentially a Lincoln platform, running chiefly on the lines

he had laid down in his debate with Douglas. Greeley did not make it, as the New Yorkers thought; it was shaped to win the doubtful States, especially Indiana and Pennsylvania, as Illinois had been won by Lincoln in 1858.

The platform, therefore, called for its maker, Lincoln. Seward was doomed from the start to the eye that could look into the situation; if nominated, he could not carry the doubtful States of the North, according to the opinion of their delegates at Chicago. Clearer and clearer it became that Lincoln was the only logical candidate for such a platform and such a party, both of which he had largely moulded. Seward with his Higher Law had deeply offended the legal-mindedness of the American people generally, though he undoubtedly voiced the moral-mindedness of many conscientious men. The latter, however, as a rule would vote for Lincoln, while the former, or many of them, would not vote for Seward. Already we have dwelt much upon the conflict between the moral and institutional elements of the Northern Folk-Soul, both of which must be somehow conserved and harmonized. The platform was certainly a happy solution of the deepest Republican dualism, even if such a solution could be but temporary. Lincoln had shown himself the best mediator of the two sides, and so he gets the prize, gets it soon. On the third ballot he is nominated.

2. *The Democratic Convention.* Its place of meeting was Charleston, which fact also brings up its suggestion. This city had about 40,000 population and was reported to be diminishing in numbers. A century before 1860 it ranked as the most important seaport and commercial center in the country. In the same century its imports had dropped a half. Thus it was a losing city, the most retrograde probably in the country. Its people knew its decline and in their hearts bitterly blamed the Union for it, since Charleston was more prosperous in the colonial than in the federal period. Its character was, therefore, deeply separatist with a passion for Disunion. Then it lay in the Old-Thirteen of the South, which showed the strongest contrast with the New North-West. The Republican Convention had gone forward from Philadelphia to Chicago, the Democratic Convention had gone backward from Cincinnati to Charleston—the one advancing from an old State to a new, and the other from a new State to an old; the one too had moved further North and the other further South. Without putting too much stress upon this interplay of localities, we have to take into account the *genius loci*, which has always been recognized to have its influence and its meaning. Throbbing Chicago, backward Charleston; democratic Illinois, aristocratic South Carolina; the North-West with its freedom, the South-East

with its slavery certainly are suggestive. The fact is, Republicans could not go to the one, and Democrats would not go to the other.

Certain advantages should be noted. There was no prize-fighter, no professional yeller, at the Charleston Convention. It was grave, decorous, even funereal. The prospective split in the Party was a damper upon enthusiasm. Several hundred of Buchanan's office-holders were on hand, but they counted for little. Democracy was certainly very sick; it might scream with pain, but could not shout for joy. There was a marked absence of carousing, and a marked presence of praying at old St. Michael's. The vast outpour of the People, like that at Chicago, was totally wanting. It was noticed that even Southern hospitality was not very profuse to Northern delegates, nearly all of them Douglas men, who had become odious to the Oligarchy, since Douglas, with his Popular Sovereignty, had made it face majority rule, and declare itself explicitly against the same in the Territories.

April 23rd the Convention met, and went through a peculiar and startling development, mirroring the full disintegrating process of the Democratic party and also of the Nation. The Douglas men had a majority of the delegates, which was the nominating power, but the South had the majority of States, seventeen out of



thirty-three, having won the delegations from California and Oregon, two new States, through Buchanan's officials. And yet these two Free-States were really anti-slavery, casting a large vote for Douglas in the Presidential election, though both of them gave a still larger vote to Lincoln. Now it was this majority of States which controlled the platform through the Committee of thirty-three, one from each State. Thus the old see-saw begins just in the heart of the party; the South, though in a minority, will control the platform against the power of the majority. Then the fight opened with a fierceness unparalleled in any previous Convention of any Party. It was war, which, though of words, pre-figured the real war, and especially the attitude of the Douglas Democracy in the real war. Note here that the South again seized upon a form to thwart a right; it was Kansas once more — mere legality versus the spirit of the law or of the established rule. Moreover the Convention gave the strongest possible proof of Lincoln's far-seeing apothegm: This Nation cannot endure half-slave, half-free. Yea, the Democratic Party has reached the point that it cannot endure half-slave, half-free. In 1858 Douglas bitterly condemned the doctrine of Lincoln, but in 1860 at Charleston the Douglas Democracy are verifying it in deed if not in word. The fact is, they have pushed one

step beyond Lincoln and are acting if not directly saying: Not merely this Nation, but this Party cannot endure half-slave, half-free.

The Douglas platform was adopted, the majority of Democrats therein asserted itself against the Oligarchic minority.

Then came the secession of the Cotton States, the whole tier from South Carolina to Texas (with Arkansas added) going out of the Convention as they did out of the Union less than a year afterwards. This Convention seems to have as its historical purpose to pre-enact the course of secession after the election of Lincoln, to reveal beforehand the design and conduct of the Oligarchy. Moreover Yancey, its most eloquent orator, demands not merely political but moral submission, the surrender of the conviction that slavery is wrong. The cause of the Democracy's defeat in the North was that "you did not take the position directly that slavery was right and therefore ought to be." Hence it comes that "you have gone down before the enemy." Moreover "the cause of all this discord" has been "your admission that slavery is wrong." So one has to say that Yancey, too, is a supporter of Lincoln's doctrine that this Nation must become all one thing or the other; he likewise confirms Lincoln's statement a few months before (in the Cooper's Institute speech) that the South will be placated only by this: "Cease

to call slavery wrong and join them in calling it right." Yancey also classifies "Black Republicans, Free-Soilers and *Squatter-Sovereignty men*" under the one rubric of abolitionists — "all representing the common sentiment that slavery is wrong."

The Convention adopted the two-thirds rule. Douglas had the decided majority, receiving three and four times more than any other candidate; still after many ballots it was found that he could not get the requisite majority. The Convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore, June 18th, when the nominee of the Republican Convention would be known. The seceders chose Richmond. But in this second Convention at Baltimore, instead of harmony, a second secession took place, that of Virginia who was followed by most of the delegates from North Carolina and Tennessee, with additions from Kentucky, Maryland and some other States. The second tier of Slave-States now joins the first and nominates Breckenridge. The Douglas Democrats, having the requisite majority, proceed to nominate their chieftain. So in the Democratic Convention of 1860 are pre-enacted the two great secessions from the Union, soon to occur. First, the Southern tier, the Cotton States, go out and unite in a body, foretelling the Confederacy; then after a time of attempted compromise, the second or middle tier follows, and the two tiers

set up for themselves selecting their own candidate for President. Is not this a great lesson for the Northern leaders of the Democracy, a preparatory discipline? Secession has certainly got hold of the Democratic Party and has disrupted it ere trying to disrupt the Union. Moreover it feels that it is getting its own, the consequences of its policy toward and with the South for many years.

3. *The Campaign.* The Republican plan for the Campaign was clear from the start. All the States which voted for Fremont in 1856 would now vote for Lincoln, probably with increased majorities. The same issue was before the People, only intensified, deepened, and clarified. More than ever the Folk-Soul of the North was resolved to make this State-producing Union the mother of Free-States only. Effort must then be concentrated upon those Northern States which went for Buchanan in 1856, and gave him the election. The three main ones were Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In addition to the general issue above mentioned, for these States special issues were invoked and used with effect.

Pennsylvania was torn from her Democratic mooring through the appeal to the protective tariff, which was favored by the Chicago platform, but which Democrats in Congress had voted against, and their platform in 1856 had

distinctly opposed. It was an outside, selfish issue, adapted to that one State, in which the tariff was declared to be "the essential plank" of the whole Chicago platform — not the Free-State, but pig-iron is the main thing. To be sure, New England also was looking out for her particular interest and saw it in a high protective tariff; but it must be said to her honor that she would have voted the Republican ticket on its right issue, even without its tariff plank, though doubtless with diminished majorities. The conscientious Yankee put principle first, though he has always had the remarkable faculty of joining thrift very closely and harmoniously to his principle. But this was not the end of Pennsylvania's bargaining at Chicago; in spite of Lincoln's prohibition, she extorted the promise of a cabinet position as the price of her support; the result was Simon Cameron gets the War department, a kind of James Buchanan in political wire-pulling coupled with official incapacity. The statement may seem harsh and possibly impolitic, but the historian pondering upon these and later years will think, if he does not say, that Pennsylvania has clearly proved herself to be the most self-seeking State in the Union. Other States have indeed followed hard after, but have never overtaken her in this peculiar supremacy. Of course she poured out her blood for the Union and for higher

duties, but this very blood of hers seems to have been colored red in its corpuscles by pig-iron. And probably her greatest statesman of this period — though he was not oppressively great — was re-baptized with the surname of *Pig-iron*, for his unflinching advocacy of the one all-important cause. But even if we know that the means here employed will bear their dragon-crop of ills in the future, let us herald the result: Pennsylvania gives 32,000 Republican majority in the October election.

Indiana was an October State also, but of a different political character from Pennsylvania. The Southern part of the State was dominantly negro-hating, but this trait could be deftly turned to the advantage of Free-Stateism, as we have already noted in Kansas. The dislike of the blacks could also be appealed to by the artful Republican orator recounting the efforts of the South to restore the African slave-trade, and thus to bring more negroes into the country — horror of horrors to the Indianian, not out of sympathy but antipathy. The argument against minority rule likewise had its effect, especially as most of these people came from the non-slaveholding class of the South. It is said that Helper's book was extensively circulated among these people with telling effect, both in Indiana and in Illinois. The latter State, however, had been carried by Lincoln in 1858 against Doug-



las, and was safe for him again. Thus the Campaign was colored variously in the various localities; but underneath all this diverse play of prejudice, passion and selfishness was working the one deep conviction of the Northern Folk-Soul that the Union must henceforth not only exist, but exist as Free-State producing only.

Besides the Republican Party and the two wings of the Democrats, a fourth Party was in the field calling itself the Constitutional Union Party, whose Presidential candidate was Bell of Tennessee. It had no platform except its name; it ignored the existing conflict, and must be deemed an attempt to revert to the start and to begin over again, as if the whole thing had gone wrong since the formation of the Union and Constitution. As well might the people try to return to Paradise, in order to get rid of the Fall of Man! It is astonishing how large a vote this ticket received in the South, though in the North it lagged behind all the rest.

The result toward which events had long been marching was now reached; Lincoln was elected.

## The Third Alignment.

From the ballot to the bullet History is moving with a hurried march of events, which are now to be seen in their order. The process of Secession advances to its final stage, in which it shows a new Alignment of the two sides of the divided Nation, the third one of the present period, and which may also be called *Secession realized*. It is a rapidly shifting time bubbling over with unexpected occurrences, whose drift lies not always on the surface, but has at first a bewildering effect upon the minds of the people as they are borne along in it toward the sudden burst of light, which reveals to them in all distinctness their coming task.

Accordingly we have reached that part of the present chapter in which the Process of Secession completes itself, and the States engaged in it align themselves against those which remain in the Union and are getting ready to defend the same. Secession thus comes to its final development and realization. This takes place in the five months and some days between the election of Lincoln and the firing on Fort Sumter, followed immediately by his call for troops to suppress the rebellion into which Secession has grown.

Secession has indeed passed through several stages of evolution before this final flowering. It has been threatened since the formation of the Union by individuals, and once by a State, South Carolina in 1832, which never seriously renounced it and is again going to start it in the present crisis. But now it has become the purpose of not merely one State but of a group of States in the South; indeed the entire Southern section is more or less deeply tinged with it. Since 1858 this purpose has been proclaimed, promulgated and crystallized into a fixed resolution on the part of certain States, especially in case of the election of a Republican President in 1860. This event has transpired, and in the Process of Secession the inner resolution is rapidly passing into the outer deed. We are, therefore, now to see Secession realizing itself in action, which shows the involved States seceding from the Union and placing themselves one by one in a line of battle against the States which maintain the Union.

Such is the Third Alignment in which we behold *Secession realized*.

The two previous Alignments, which have been named the Congressional and the Presidential, have been stages of the total Process of Secession, which rounds itself out to completion with this Third Alignment. In Congress (1858-9) was the war of words waged by

the representatives of both sides, and preluding the war of deeds, which was the grand reality of the conflict carried on by the People themselves. In the Presidential Alignment the weapon was the ballot, the peaceful method of settling national disputes by means of the constituted majority. But there is no peace, since the South will not recognize the rule of the majority. So after the election of the President, events march rapidly forward to the Third Alignment, when a new movement sets in, to be recounted hereafter.

Actual Secession starts with South Carolina at Charleston, then it sweeps into the so-called Cotton States, which proceed to form the Southern Confederacy with capital at Montgomery. Here there is a halt, for the purpose of bringing into line the rest of the Slave-States. Particularly Virginia is angled for and is finally caught, when the capital changes to Richmond, and the new government with its Constitution is brought ready-made to the State which once had the chief hand in making and administering the old government with its Constitution. The President, Jefferson Davis, is also accepted. Such is the part which Virginia is brought to play in the Southern Confederacy, certainly not a creative part, but rather an imposed one from the outside, even though it be disguised under the name of an alliance. The act, however,

broke the old mother of States and of the Union itself in twain; hereafter History must know two Virginias.

Very rapid and numerous and intricate are the movements of this stormy time, which make it not easy to put into order. It concentrates in its brief five months what otherwise the Spirit of the Ages scatters through many years, if not through centuries. Its outer appearance is that of a vast maelstrom which suddenly swells up from the depth of the Ocean, seething and swirling in multitudinous eddies, each of which dashes madly against the others, yet belongs to the one great vortex of waters. What we are to see is this unity, the one main process and the more important subordinate processes in the mightily agitated concourse of occurrences jostling each other in furious energy.

First let us grasp this last Alignment as Secession realizing itself in three grand acts, beginning with South Carolina, then passing to the Lower Tier of Slave-States, and finally winning the Middle Tier of the South. But the Upper or Northern Tier of Slave-States Secession never succeeded in controlling. Such are the three grand acts of it unfolding in order like a drama; each of these acts, too, has its own process which is quite similar in all of them and consists of three main elements, namely, (*a*) the South as the active secessive irritant; (*b*) the Admin-

istration at the Capital as the irritated point, passive at first yet slowly rising to resistance; and lastly (c) the North looking on and pondering over the various prescribed compromises till it bursts forth in a great overflow southward to reach the seat of all this irritation and to wipe out secession and with it slavery.

This general movement and its sub-movements we shall seek to indicate to the outer eye by certain marks as well as to unfold them inwardly in their historic significance. The period embraces the last four months of Buchanan, and one month and some days of Lincoln. Buchanan, however, shows two different attitudes toward Secession which will be considered later on.

1. *Secession of South Carolina.* One State starts the movement of Secession, not without some kind of agreement that others would follow. South Carolina had already won the name of being the most refractory and dissatisfied member of the Union. Her greatest son, John C. Calhoun, was the chief intellectual propagator of the doctrine of Secession, as well as of the morality of Slavery. During the Presidential canvas of 1860 she had begun to move, and after its result was announced, she started at once to realize Secession, and passed its ordinance in six weeks (December 20th).

Thus South Carolina takes the initiative in dissolving the Union. It is generally conceded



that the act was a true manifestation of her character. But how did such a character arise? Some have ascribed it to the large admixture of French blood, also of Celtic blood in her composition; others say that it has some connection with the exceedingly heterogeneous nature of her original settlers who came of very diverse European stocks. But the pivotal fact is that her deep dissatisfaction arose from the consciousness of being a sinking State as compared with her sisters in the American Union, especially her Northern sisters. Such was the story loudly told by the census of 1860, and even by that of 1850. Yet South Carolina blamed the wrong thing for her losing race. She believed that the Union was the cause of her relative decline, and that the North had all the profit of the federal association of the States. The Oligarchy, hugging the source of its power, refused to see the baleful effects of slavery, but claimed to find in it only advantage and excellence. Particularly the Tariff was reprobated by South Carolina as a leading cause of her decadence, though strangely her representatives in 1857 supported it in the National Congress, and in 1861 voted for its re-enactment in the Confederate Congress. But whatever might be assigned as the cause, the ever-present oppressive fact lowered over South Carolina that she was of much higher relative importance in

1760 than in 1860, that she had been always growing greater before and less after the formation of the Union. Already in 1800 she had begun to look back upon her colonial period as the good old era of highest prosperity and power, so that by the time of her Secession two generations of her people had brooded over the continued and ever-increasing decline of their State. Indeed it is highly probable that a majority of the people of South Carolina never wished to separate from Great Britain in the Revolutionary period, and regarded independence as a calamity. If this be so, she was a discontented State from the start, and was born kicking.

In some such way we seek to account for the spirit of South Carolina in 1860, and the part which she played, revealing her passionate hate of the Union, which must have been inbred and transmitted through generations. Moreover this spirit was well-nigh unanimous in her people and gave to her a unique place as the standing protagonist of Secession which was her deepest love. She developed men of talent in speech and writing, but their voice was that of protest and discontent, often of downright defiance of the existent order. The most froward member of the Union we have to deem her from the beginning, so that by the time of the Great War heredity had repeated and confirmed this trait of her

character till it had become the mainspring of all her political action.

South Carolina, at her withdrawal in 1860, adopted a Declaration of Independence which was fondly supposed to rival that of Jefferson in 1776, and which proposed to give the grounds for her separation from the Union. Leaving out mere assertions about the legal right of Secession, and about the nature of the Constitution as a simple compact between the States, we may note the two or three complaints. First is that the North, through her Personal Liberty Bills against the Fugitive Slave Law had broken the compact, and hence "South Carolina is released from her obligation." Here she makes herself judge of an infraction which belongs to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States — a very common disregard of the Constitution in the South at this time. Yet a South Carolina statesman had once said that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional through its violation of States-Rights. The same doctrine had been affirmed by the Judiciary of Wisconsin, but Wisconsin did not propose to secede because it thought that one of its rights as a State had been violated. This plea was only a pretext for doing something which had a deeper though unspoken reason. Another complaint was that the North had elected a man as President who "had

declared that this Government cannot endure half slave, half free.” And yet was not every act of South Carolina at present fulfilling the prediction? Indeed every word was, in spite of her growls. Every convention, every public-meeting resounded with speeches: Now we shall have a Government all-slave, entirely homogeneous. Says R. B. Rhett, a chief mouth-piece, in an address: “Our Confederacy must be a slave-holding Confederacy; we have had enough of a Confederacy with *dissimilar institutions*.” So we see that South Carolina, while in the act of cursing Lincoln’s prophecy, is fulfilling it both in word and deed far more rapidly and completely than Lincoln ever dreamed to be possible. Still another complaint is that the North has “denounced as sinful the institution of slavery.” The Northern conscience must surrender its conviction as to the wrongfulness of slavery and believe as we do, or we shall break up the Union. There can be no longer tolerated any difference of opinion upon that point, not only in the slaveholding South, but even in the non-slaveholding North. Toleration may be allowed in religion, but in politics its day is over. How the best and most liberal minds of the South could become so intolerant upon the subject of slavery is still one of the staggering psychological problems of that era. We can only regard it as one of the ever-increasing spiritual

effects of the domination resulting from relation of master and slave, seeking as it does to dictate even the moral conviction of the individual not only in the South but also in the North.

Such was South Carolina's Declaration of Independence, destined never to have its Fourth of July, or to be a landmark of humanity's liberation. Not so much is there declared in it an independence of the Union as of the whole world; not so much a separation from the North as from civilization; not so much a defiance of Lincoln as of the World-Spirit. It was in speeches acknowledged "that the sentiment of Europe is against us." A stronger declaration was that, "we are isolated from the whole world." It was also recognized that the commonwealth was in decay, but this decay was attributed to the decline of slavery in the Nation. Gleams of confession, though unintended and indirect, reveal the undercurrent of opinion that South Carolina is falling to the rear in the grand march of the States. And for this, of course, she blames not herself but the Union.

Though South Carolina has seceded, her action involves the entire Nation, with which she necessarily begins to be in an exciting process. The center of irritation is her leading city, Charleston, in whose harbor lie three forts belonging to the United States, and commanding the city with its approaches by sea. Hence in Charleston rises

practically the question of Coercion, the supreme Southern question next to that of Secession. After seceding, South Carolina claimed the right of determining how she should be treated by the United States. Hands off, let me take the National property which is within my limits, or within what I assert to be my limits. Otherwise there is the Coercion of a Sovereign State. For, to tell the truth, I, South Carolina, possess not only sovereignty over myself, but over the government of the United States, at least so far as to have the right to dictate what it shall do in my case. Otherwise I shall cry out *Coercion*, at which diabolic word all the devils in the other Slave-States will begin to dance and grimace and spit fire in an uncontrollable frenzy. It is strange how the spirit of domination nestled in that little category *Coercion*, whose magic spell had the power of sending many a soul to Hades and even of thrusting whole States down into the Purgatory of Disunion, there to undergo a painful penitential discipline till they be regenerated into freedom and true equality.

Accordingly we shall glance at the elements of this process, which are these: Charleston as the active, irritating center of Secession, now the Prime Mover; then the Government at Washington as the irritated counterpart dealing with the problem of Coercion; finally The



People of the North, the silent bearers of Nationality, looking anxiously at the rising trouble and testing the various schemes of conciliation and compromise. Quiescent, rather dazed is the North during these two months, brooding gloomily over the future which threatens to bring forth such a furious progeny of ills.

(a) Charleston, still the chief city of South Carolina, had been once the chief city of the South, if not of the whole Atlantic seaboard. Its trade extended far into the Northern States. Philadelphia at one time is said to have obtained its finest imports through Charleston instead of getting them through New York or through itself. As had befallen the whole State, Charleston was a much more important city in 1760 than in 1860, its commerce being not only relatively but absolutely greater in the former than in the latter period. If South Carolina felt itself to be a sinking State, Charleston even more decidedly felt itself to be a sinking, if not a sunken city. Its chief bloom lay in its colonial epoch, before the formation of the Federal Union. As stated already, it came to hate that Union which had brought it into the baleful embraces of the North, and which it deemed to be source of its decline, to be a vampyre fastened upon its vitals and sucking its life-blood. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, in a private letter, written early in 1860, and since

printed, betrays the true underlying consciousness of his State and its chief city: "The North without us would be a motherless calf, bleating about, and die of mange and starvation." Here lies the real motive lurking in all this secession business, bared of its pretexts and its rhetoric: The South (and especially South Carolina) is the mother-cow which is being milked to death by its hungry calf, the North. Moreover the same Senator cannot help "regarding this Union as cramping the South," particularly South Carolina — wherein we may well hear the cry of the Oligarchy at the limits put upon its extension of slavery. This is what it called "Northern aggression against the slaveholder," who, though in a minority both in his own section and in the nation, felt something like a divine right to his domination.

Charleston was, therefore, of all Southern cities, the one best prepared to start the work of Disunion. Aside from this inner condition, the outer or physical situation of the place invited or perchance impelled the people to quick action. The harbor of Charleston had three forts belonging to the United States, which guarded its entrance, and one of which commanded the city itself. Thus the Government had the place padlocked; could it be made to deliver up the key peaceably? Or could it be hoodwinked till the Secessionists were ready to grasp the prize?

That was the problem which the administration of Buchanan had to face, rendered doubly difficult by the President's cataleptic terror at every appearance of the goblin called Coercion, which the South Carolinians and other Southerners did not fail to dance before his eyes in season and out of season, for the purpose of paralyzing him with fright.

Every step in the swift movement toward separation at Charleston was made the occasion of festivity and rejoicing. But there was also the counterstroke in the secret throbbing of fear lest the negroes, that silent majority both in the city and in the State, might rise and baptize the newborn infant, Secession, in the blood of its parents. To be sure, there was small cause for such fear; the blacks under far more favorable opportunities during the War, never revolted. Still the terror existed just the same, and became the hidden Nemesis avenging the enslaved in the very soul of the white master, when there was not and could not be any external vengeance (see preceding, pp. 316-8). So the record comes down to us that Charleston, always patrolled by a guard as a security against its negroes, feels secret thrills of anxiety during these days in the midst of its wildest exultation over the new dawn of the empire of slavery.

The Convention which passed the ordinance of Secession is declared to have been composed

of gray-haired men of the highest standing socially and intellectually, not of hot-headed youths quick to precipitate revolution. What is the meaning of this fact? To us it says that Secession is nothing new with South Carolina but very old in idea, nothing sudden but long since deliberated, in fact transmitted through generations. Indeed these old men have inherited from their fathers the hate of the Union, the belief that it is the curse which is dragging down their State, and which the long-expected opportunity has now come to smite to the dust. As soon as the ordinance had passed, the enthusiasm was boundless, people embraced and sometimes wept, amid the universal exclamation: Thank God, deliverance has come to us at last.

One of the peculiarities of this political jubilee was the religious strand which wound through it everywhere. Not only were the sessions of the Convention opened with prayer, but public meetings, pole-raisings and flag-unfurlings began by invoking the blessing of God. Probably nowhere in the North outside of Oberlin was there such an incessant outpour of divine supplication in secular concerns. The minister would declare in substance that God is on our side. With equal fervor Oberlin sent up its petition to the same God, feeling sure that He was on its side, which was certainly opposite to that of Charleston. Or shall we again in our American Iliad

help ourselves out with old Homer's conception of two Gods or more, antagonistic, one taking part with the Greeks and the other with the Trojans, each getting ready to join battle on Olympus? In this connection it should not fail to be noted that Charleston like Oberlin had its Higher Law too, which defied the Enacted Law. The crew of the slave-ship *Echo* were tried at Charleston in 1858, for violating the United States Law against the slave-trade, and, though caught in the act, were set free by a Charleston jury. Such a Law being contrary to the sentiment of the State, could not be executed in South Carolina, said her conscientious United States Senator. The same sentiment seems to have existed in all the Cotton States. So we behold two Higher Laws, a Northern and a Southern, the one refusing obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, the other refusing obedience to the Law against the slave-trade. Douglas estimated that in one year fifteen thousand Africans had been smuggled into the country in violation of Law, which number was much greater than that of the runaway slaves in the same time. Very impressive and deep-seated has become the dualism between North and South: two Higher Laws yet just opposite, the one pouring more negroes into slavery, the other dragging them out; yea two Gods, bitter enemies both and getting ready to

clutch each other in a far mightier war than that old Olympian one over Greece and Troy. As the Statehood in our American Union is getting cleft in twain, so is the Godhood conceived to be which is presiding over it; whereby the dualism of the Nation has reached its most intense contradiction, being carried up by both sides to the judgment seat of the Almighty Himself for adjudication. How will He decide? That is not yet to be told; gladly would each set of petitioners hear the decree *now*; but the Supreme Tribunal of the Ages is not in a hurry to render its decision in such an important trial, at least not till there be the great new compliance with the Divine Law by both sides, Law at present hardly visible and certainly not realizable.

(b). Passing to Washington the center, we find that the Administration is being harried far more by the South than it ever harried Kansas. Charleston is avenging Lawrence, the Southerners are bringing home to the President the retaliation of the Free-State men. Those whom Buchanan has served most faithfully have become his punishers. The Executive at Washington is no longer the active cause of irritation, but its agonized recipient, no longer the torturer but the tortured, and that too by those in whose interest he inflicted torture upon his own section. He was declared during these days to be in a pitiable plight, "spending his time between



praying and crying." Yet his contemporaries had little pity for him, and posterity up to date is quite as unrelenting in its judgment of him, even if not in its feeling

After the election of Lincoln, Buchanan spent his first two months in subserviency to the South, yielding to its demands as he had done for four years. No reinforcements were sent to Charleston Harbor, though Major Anderson, the commander, called for them, and General Scott at first had urged the same view. Nothing was done, though every day brought news of the activity of the secessionists. Congress met in December, and the President sent his usual message, not only a weak but contradictory document. He denied the right of Secession, yet at the same time denied the right of Coercion. The Government cannot rightfully put down a wrong against its own existence, but must in peace let itself be destroyed wrongfully. Such a doctrine of non-resistance was never before applied to any State ancient or modern by its own ruler. Buchanan even called Secession revolutionary, but our American Government cannot meet revolution, having no right to assert its right, and would do the greatest wrong if it dared suppress the greatest wrong. So spoke the Executive Power of a great Nation; after such an exhibition there can be no wonder that contempt has been Buchanan's lot from North

and South. The message, however, shows the two contending sides in the cabinet, the one maintaining the right of Secession and the wrong of Coercion, the other maintaining the wrong of Secession and the right of Coercion, or at least of what the South called Coercion. Buchanan seemed to have clapped the two negatives together, giving a specimen of his method of reconciliation, by denying the right of both Secession and Coercion.

Still Buchanan has his place in the grand historic evolution of the Ten Years' War. We are to see that the World-Spirit used him, even in his weakness, as its instrument to bring about its purpose. Suppose he had been a strong, firm, clear-headed man, he might at least have deferred the conflict. Andrew Jackson would probably have nipped Secession in the bud at Charleston by filling Castle Pinckney with regulars whose guns would have swept the city, and by manning fully the other two forts. But could even he have permanently ended Secession in 1860, as he did Nullification in 1832? Not at all. The conflict had to take place, the question had to be settled whether this Union shall henceforth produce Slave-States or Free-States. The starting-point might have been elsewhere, the time might have been a little later, but not much, the agony might not have lasted so long or even have lasted longer, with

less or more bloodshed; but what boots it to speculate about incidentals? The essential element is the World-Spirit, which controls all these external events in Time and Place, moulding them obedient to its purpose which is to make the Union productive of Free-States, not simply out of the Territories but even out of the Slave-States new and old. Given the Oligarchy with its domination through the extension of slavery, given the North with its conviction against the extension of slavery, the appeal to arms cannot be obviated.

Buchanan, then, through his imbecility prepares the way for Secession at a given moment in a given locality, yielding like putty in the hands of the Secessionists for about two months, the last of the year 1860. But we are to see that both he and they, quite unconsciously, are in the clutch of a mightier Power which is using them for its end. Or, if our American Iliad might once more call up that Olympian world of the Greek bard, we should again see and hear Zeus in the council of the Gods uttering his decree prefiguring the outcome of our Ten Years' War, though bringing woes unnumbered both to the victors and vanquished.

Meanwhile during these two truckling months (November and December), the cabinet of Buchanan showed signs of separation and secession. Early in November, Black, then Attorney-

General, advised the President to send strong reinforcements to the forts in Charleston Harbor. Cass supported the same view, which was opposed by Cobb and Thompson. Thus the division of North and South, of Coercion and Secession, has split in twain Buchanan's advisers. December 8th, Cobb leaves the cabinet — secedes we may say, since Buchanan in his message to Congress had denied the right of Secession. Three days later Cass resolves to quit, since Buchanan in that same message had denied the right of Coercion, and had refused assistance to the forts at Charleston. Whereupon Black becomes Secretary of State, and begins to get his grip upon the rudder of the helplessly drifting ship. But the pivotal event came when Major Anderson secretly removed his troops from the indefensible Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter well protected against attack (Dec. 26). South Carolina felt itself completely thwarted by the move, and all the Southern secessionists, at Washington, blazing with indignation, pitched poor Buchanan, their wretched tool, into a fiery furnace during this holiday week of 1860. Certainly the Furies were serving up to him quite a little bit of his own Inferno.

The great struggle now is, will the President order Major Anderson back to Fort Moultrie? To force him to such an act, the whole Southern pressure is whelmed upon him at once, But the counteracting power has now come to the front

in the cabinet. During this same holiday week Joseph Holt is made Secretary of War, while Edwin M. Stanton has already succeeded Black as Attorney-General. Thus the strong Union Trio appears, Black, Stanton and Holt, the redeeming glory of Buchanan's entire administration. The course of Major Anderson is approved and he is to be reinforced. A new hope for the Union dawns, and the country begins to look up from its night of despair, the darkest in its history.

But Buchanan is no longer really President, being reduced to the figure-head which he in fact is. A strong Triumvirate has taken his place with his consent and governs in his name, yet with a wholly different spirit. Two months more this kind of rule is to last, till he steps out; but during these two months a new whirl of events rises to the surface on the maelstrom.

(c.) Ere we pass on, however, we must take a glance at the North, the third element in this movement, along with South Carolina and the Administration at Washington. Its people read the news from the South and the Capital in an ever-increasing state of painful suspense, and the gloom kept thickening from early November till the holidays. It saw but too plainly the total imbecility of the President in the face of the coming danger, and trembled lest the government would simply go to pieces without any

attempt to hold it together. The cabal of secessionists in the cabinet controlled him till they seceded, and let the Triumvirate come into power when a new policy began to cheer the depressed Unionists.

And now we are to consider the various attitudes which Northern leaders began to assume toward Secession. Undoubtedly the people of the North were at first taken aback that the Southern menace, so long flourished over their heads, should be carried out in the deed. They listened eagerly to their guides in their puzzled state of mind, and the first result was that they were more puzzled than ever on account of the diversity of the advice, and the lack of firmness in the advisers.

First we may cite the opinion of Greeley, who proposed in his *Tribune* to let the erring sisters depart in peace. He took strong ground against Coercion early in November, when South Carolina and the Cotton States were preparing to secede. "We shall resist all coercive measures," he says in his paper. That is, Greeley was a passive secessionist, a man after James Buchanan's own heart, and if he had had any consistency he would have supported the President. Still we must not be too severe upon poor Greeley. He was a journalist, editor of a daily newspaper, which often has to adjust itself anew every twenty-four hours. When the time comes he



will make a turn in the other direction. This does not necessarily proceed from corruption (though it may), nor exactly from fickleness, but from the very nature of the journalistic consciousness, which Greeley possessed, through training and instinct, more completely than any other man in America.

Greeley took his first adjustment from New England, toward which he always faced at the start, being a New Englander himself. There is no doubt that a large element in that section was willing to see the Slave-States secede. The Garrisonians of course rejoiced, since they were disunionists from the beginning. But the New England preacher, the chief influence in every community, seemed to lean in the same direction. The greatest one of this class that ever lived was now in the meridian of his influence and transcendent powers. Henry Ward Beecher openly exulted in the separation of the Free-States from the Slave-States. It must be confessed that New England leaders had little idea of or feeling for the Union. Their moral sense was very strong, but one-sided; their institutional sense was very weak, even if not wholly lost. For if Secession be admitted as a principle what is to become of the North, even if we leave out the South? It too will go to pieces, dissolve into its constituent elements or States extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The dissolution of the Union

means logically not merely separation of the North and South, but universal separation, in the North as well as in the South. This thought pervades many statements of Lincoln (see, for example, his Inauguration Address). New England, therefore, needs an institutional regeneration; the original home of outspoken Secession and of the menace, it still holds to passive Secession, and proclaims the same during these two months so deeply separative. But we must not forget that it will quickly change this attitude at the call of Lincoln.

Passing from New England to New York we find a different atmosphere and observe a different principle at work. The great word here is Compromise. To be sure the same word with its conception was frequent in Boston and elsewhere in New England. But the commercial spirit of New York was terrified at the loss of Southern trade. The Republicans became astonishingly weak-backed; and were getting ready to crouch down under the South. Thurlow Weed, friend of Seward and editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, proposed a compromise which was in substance a surrender of the main plank of the Republican platform, that in regard to slavery in the Territories. Other leading Republican newspapers supported such a compromise. Seward was silent, but probably favored it till he heard from Lincoln through Weed, who visited the

President-elect at Springfield. Crittenden of Kentucky on December 18th introduced into the Senate his famous compromise measure, whose chief clause likewise sacrificed the distinctive result of the Republican victory of 1860.

Now comes Lincoln to the rescue. In a letter of December 11th he says: Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to slavery. In consequence Seward gets some backbone, the New York newspapers, like the *Times*, stiffen up, and even Greeley begins to change from a passive secessionist to an active unionist. Lincoln has started to transform the Eastern States, one of his chief tasks at present. As he made them Republican in 1858, turning them from Popular Sovereignty, so he has to make them true Unionists in 1860, turning them from their tendency to compromise away the main purport of their victory.

All can now see that Lincoln in this matter was the true representative of his party, and voiced aright its world-historical mission. The old Free-States, with their present leaning toward compromise and even separation, this Western man had to hold to their new duty. It is true that the Republicans began to stand aghast at the consequences of their victory. They had thought that the threats of the South were only bluster. But when South Carolina was certain to secede, and then actually went out, the vast

coming task began to rise on their minds — nothing less than to meet these acts with arms. For there was no question that Lincoln had been fairly and constitutionally elected. The North had submitted to Buchanan; now the South ought to submit to Lincoln. The North began to feel it a point of honor to defend their prize.

Still there was enough in the outlook to cause hesitation. The large vote for Douglas in the Presidential election showed a divided North; it must first be united before any decided action could be taken looking toward armed maintenance of the Union, or Coercion as it was called. Another division in the North had begun to make its appearance, that between the East and the West.

But South Carolina has started the blaze which rages furiously. Already that Commonwealth is getting a lesson that it is not a Social Whole within itself; trade has ceased, banks have stopped payment, the question of the necessities of life has risen at Charleston. This one State finds itself not self-sufficing, and so seeks to involve other States, which may have collected like materials for a political conflagration. Will it escape its own fire-brands? From these days of early 1861 we cannot help looking forward to the same days of 1865, when Sherman with his "horde of Vandals," quite unresisted and irresistible, breaks into the State from the south

and mows a wide swath of desolation through its whole length; Charleston burns, Columbia burns, and the Nemesis of History celebrates one of her most striking festivals of retribution. Or shall we interpret this return of the deed to the doer as a mere accident of war? Or that the line of retaliation has by no means yet come to an end, that the turn of South Carolina is still to rise up in some future whirl of the cycle of the World's History?

At any rate it is manifest that South Carolina is bringing about just the opposite of what she intends — Coercion, the destruction of Slavery and the Primacy of the Union. She is in the hands of a mightier Power than herself, a Power which uses her as its instrument in spite of herself; her effort, her wealth, her passion and her blood are poured out in a cause which she thinks her own, but which destroys every object which she holds dear and has sought to realize. To herself she is tragic enough; to the World-Spirit she is comic, pursuing an end which is absurd, nugatory, self-annihilating; while trying most to be just herself and nobody else, she is strangely metamorphosed into the opposite of herself, and is all the time undoing what she is furiously bent upon doing.

Such is, indeed, the bloody sport of the World-Spirit not only in South Carolina but elsewhere, yea in the whole movement of history. The

question seriously comes up: Cannot a stop be put to it by the institutions of man now dawning? We believe so; but let this matter be at present deferred, for the case of South Carolina has become contagious and is passing to other States of the South, which are all destined to catch that same madness of undoing the very work which they are trying hardest to do, of destroying the very things which they make the most heroic sacrifices to preserve.

Accordingly we pass not merely to another State but to a whole belt of States which madly start to dancing the same Devil's dance to the tune set to playing at Charleston.

2. *Secession of the Lower Tier of Slave-States.* These with South Carolina are usually called the Cotton States, after their one great staple, Cotton, which has become not only an aristocrat but a monarch in the realm of Southern production, and seems to be moulding in the same direction the character of its producers. Moreover these States are all marine States, with their chief commercial cities lying on the sea and with their people cultivating separate river-valleys which run down into salt water. Thus each State of Cottonia has its own connection with the rest of the world through the Oceanic highway, and is separative and independent by its physical character. Here it may be said that Geography not only favors but



cultivates Division, Separation, Disunion. Very different are the geographic situation and character of the States of the vast Mississippi Valley of the North, being interlinked by many rivers debouching into one great River, which fact not only suggests but produces unity and Union in the hearts of the inhabitants as well as in their outer lives. Along that seaboard it may be said that Nature herself contains a streak of Secession, and develops strongly the individuality of the separate State. The same is true of the North Atlantic States, as their history shows. At this point too we may catch a glimpse of the grand totality of the Ten Years War: that Western people of the great River Valley must first sweep down it and clear it of disunion, and then must pass to these separative States of the Atlantic coast and transform them into a new Union, which transformation will embrace not only the old Slave-States, but also the old Free-States, regenerating the Old-Thirteen from top to bottom.

We have, then, come to the second Secession, continuing that of South Carolina, which is on fire and communicates its flames to the entire Tier of inflammable Cotton States, from Georgia to Texas. The whole Southern sky of the United States seems ablaze, one State after another taking fire in the month of January, 1861. Moreover the separation begins to get organic, the

seceded States soon form a Confederacy and adopt a Constitution, electing a President (Jefferson Davis) and a Vice-President (A. H. Stephens).

We must note too that while the example of South Carolina is followed, there is a decided counter-current of reaction against her, a fear of her precipitancy, and possibly a touch of jealousy. Charleston, so active and so deserving, one would think, is not chosen as the seat of the new government; military control is at once taken from South Carolina and handed over to Beauregard; the Confederate Congress hastens to re-enact the tariff of 1857, South Carolina's great bugaboo, and one chief reason of her Secession, though she now votes for it; President and Vice-President are not of her citizens. Her leadership in her own movement is discredited and taken away, and she feels a restraining grip upon what she has hitherto called her freedom, that is, her boundless caprice. Such is her first lesson in the Confederacy.

But what made this Tier of States running westward along the saltwater border follow her in such haste without waiting for their more Northern sisters in slavery's domain? Infatuated with cotton, and inebriated with the domination which they thought it gave not only over the North, but over Europe, yea, over the world. Listen to one of their more temperate Senators

(Hammond), who takes this modest view: “I firmly believe that the slaveholding South is now the controlling power of the *world*, that no other power would face us in hostility.” But whence comes this terrestrial omnipotence? Cotton chiefly, with our other staples, “commands the *world*, and we have sense enough to know it,” and what is more, we propose “to carry it out successfully.” Evidently a world-empire hovered entrancingly before the imaginations of the ardent Southerners in these exciting days. They conceive that they have cornered not merely the North but the whole Earth if not the Universe itself, winning their absolute supremacy, not through armies but through cotton, which not man alone but God Himself needs for getting along. If moderate, quite prosaic, grave men of affairs could take such flights into the Elysian fields of uncontrolled domination, what highly colored pictures would not be drawn by the mighty gasconaders of the South, gifted with a romantic idealizing power and luxuriating in a semi-tropical poetic efflorescence of speech? An orator like Wigfall, who was the devoted spokesman of cotton in its native States at this time, found always a strong response in the people, and is still instructive for this reason, as well as amusing.

Time has proved that there never was a greater delusion. But did all the people even of the

Cotton States, share it? Perhaps not; one is inclined to some doubt in the matter. But the Oligarchy as a whole did think and talk thus, being the victims of their ruling passion, the love of domination. Value of the cotton export 76 millions; value of all other exports 60 millions; these are the figures which set on fire the Southern imagination and made the Oligarchy see universal empire, having already the peculiar psychological aptitude for taking such a view. Really, however, the South was dependent on external production for supplying many of its commonest wants; it was far less self-sufficing than the North, having almost no system of diversified industries.

Accordingly in the month of January, 1861, the row of the most Southern Slave-States — Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana — pass ordinances of Secession, Texas following them early in February. All of them are salt-water States, with separate rivers cutting them up and pouring down into the sea, a geographical stamp of Disunion. In the course of several months they succeed in dragging after them two fresh-water States (Tennessee and Arkansas), not without much protest and difficulty.

(*a.*) When the act of Secession was accomplished, the Cotton States came together to organize a provisional Government and to adopt a

Constitution. In four days after the meeting of their Congress, the Constitution was ready and was accepted. The next day the President (Davis) and the Vice-President Stephens were chosen (Feb. 9th).

The Constitution forbade the slave-trade, which was such an act of self-denial on the part of the Cotton States, that the motive is always looked for. It was certainly not on account of moral scruples, and we believe, not out of regard for the opinion of Civilization, as is often stated, which had been already defied. The prohibition of the slave-trade was meant for the more Northern Slave-States, and particularly for Virginia, which as slave-breeder for Cottonia enjoyed a considerable annual revenue. Hence the exception in the Constitution: "the importation of negroes from any foreign country, other than the slave-holding States and Territories of the United States, is forbidden." Still such a favor may not always continue: hence "Congress shall have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy." This is clearly an admonition if not a threat to the other delaying Slave-States. Also there is in it a rebuff to South Carolinians and other extremists, who always maintained that each State should regulate the slave-trade and not the Constitution. Jefferson Davis had also proclaimed the same doctrine.

Another point emphasized is in the Preamble: "We the People of the Confederate States, *each State acting in its sovereign and independent character*, in order to form a permanent *federal* government," is the Southern view of the old Constitution with the assertion of State sovereignty, and with consequent right of Secession. Moreover the same Preamble introduces the word *God*, the lack of which had so often made the old Constitution a subject of reproach, in the phrase "invoking the favor of Almighty God." The President was elected for six years and could not succeed himself. It is also significant that the word *delegated* was substituted for the word *granted* in the first section of the Constitution, which speaks of the "powers herein granted."

More fully than in the old Constitution the genesis of the new State is recognized as a fundamental function. "The Confederate States may acquire new Territory" out of which new States can be formed. "In all such Territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial Government." So the new federation is also State-producing, but Slave-State producing. And the admission of the new State is so hedged about that it had to be a Slave-State to get admitted. The Confederacy thus is Slave-State producing *only*; it is no longer double and



so has fulfilled on its side Lincoln's prophecy: "This Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free, it will become all one thing or all the other."

In looking back at this movement of sable Cottonia and her leaders, an impartial judgment must affirm that there was not a single far-seeing statesman among them. Their party had both Houses of Congress in the old Union, with every chance of a reaction in their favor. They held the Supreme Court in a firmer grip than ever, since Judge Curtis had resigned and Clifford had taken his place. The slaveholders could not by any enactment of Congress be excluded from the Territories. In substance they had quite all that they asked, with the two branches of Government, legislative and judicial, in their hands. But the executive authority was not theirs, and that was just the pinch. So every leading Southern statesman makes himself an actor in that colossal tragi-comedy of the World's History in which the South is led to root out and destroy with all speed that which she most sought to preserve.

Hence rises the question: What could have been the motive? In looking into the psychology of this matter we must seek for some hidden spring of action, often unuttered and indeed unconscious, yet the deepest and most powerful. As just stated, the South really had

all that it asked for, still there was something which it did not ask for, but which it wanted more than anything else—rule, authority domination. The love of slavery was not its deepest love, nor even the love of State sovereignty. It must have control of a nation, if not of the whole United States, then of its Southern half. Jefferson Davis never mentioned slavery in his inaugural. His wife reports him saying just before the War: “In any case I think our slave property will be eventually lost.” This seems to mean that in his opinion slavery would perish even if the South should win her independence. Thus Davis went into Secession openly for the sake of slavery but secretly with another motive. Many of the leaders were quite like him in this respect. Hence when outvoted in the Nation, they flew into revolt under the pretext of “danger to our peculiar institution, slavery,” but really because they, though the minority, would not, indeed could not give up national rule. Some of them, like Davis, foresaw that slavery was likely to perish in the appeal to arms, but did not expect to lose independence too. But they lost the whole stake, and by their course annihilated the very thing they went after. Sad and tragic enough on its individual side is the drama; but to the eye of the World-Spirit these passionate leaders are comic char-

acters rushing with vengeance to saw off from the tree the limb on which they are standing.

(*b.*) The Administration at Washington is still the irritated object, which this second Secession in the South is worrying. The action of the Cotton States is, however, now met by a decided counter-action of the Cabinet with its Triumvirate in control. Its power is still further secured by the appointment of John A. Dix as Secretary of the Treasury (Jan. 11th). Dix is best remembered for his stirring order which thrilled the North and expressed the new will in the Cabinet: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot" — an order said to have been sent without the knowledge of President Buchanan, who is now really supplanted by men whose function it is to tide over the remaining two months till the advent of Lincoln. It is interesting to note that all these strong members of the Cabinet have had also a striking and rapid evolution of their own. They all had been devoted followers of Buchanan, upholders of the Kansas policy and of the Dred Scott decision, and supporters of Breckinridge. They seem to have gotten their eyes open in these two months, and to have first seen the Southern tendency toward Disunion. Of course they were Union men to the core, and had to undergo a great inner experience before taking the present attitude. And they forecast what

attitude the majority of their party will take in the approaching struggle.

One of the results of the new policy of the Triumvirate was the sending of the steamer *Star of the West* with soldiers and provisions for Fort Sumter. When the vessel entered Charleston harbor, she was fired at by a masked battery on Morris Island. Her officers thought it dangerous to proceed, as she was unarmed, and they backed her out, no signal from Sumter having been displayed. Still Anderson saw the approaching steamer, and after getting ready did not fire. The whole business was badly managed, but in view of the time and situation, the bungling was a part of the higher control. Not yet, not yet, says the World-Spirit in its way of talking. South Carolina is indeed on fire; but can we not confine the flame to it alone? By no means, is the decree; whatever is inflammable, must now take fire and burn, till it burn itself out and the ground be made clear for a new order.

Anderson in a note to Governor Pickens declared the shooting at the *Star of the West* to be "an act of war." This it was, the first act, still there was no uprising after it, both sides lapsed into their former quiescence. The time was not yet ready. The Administration of Buchanan was not the chosen means for carrying on the war. The new man must be at the helm.

And the North was not yet ready, not yet quite convinced that Secession would propagate itself outside of South Carolina. But the events of this month will convince it and compel it to make up its mind. Meanwhile a kind of truce prevails, during which the Peace Convention blows several iridescent bubbles, which, however, explode of themselves, and various schemes of Compromise are cunningly devised and float for a brief moment before the People, but find no permanent lodgment.

(c.) What of the North in these two months? Though Compromise be still at work, the chief one, that of Crittenden, is killed by the senatorial vote of January 15th, which means that no Compromise is necessary. Indeed the nature of these Compromises, which signify that the people of the North must somehow recall their Presidential vote of 1860 and even apologize for it, is getting to be plainly perceived.

Moreover, a distinct division begins to appear between the two great parts of the North — the East and the West, the old Free States, and the new Free States. The West headed by its Leader who is the new President is ready to say that there can be no Compromise on the essential matter. Also there must be Coercion in the right sense — the holding of the forts, the keeping of national property and the collecting of revenue.

And now the curious fact comes to light that the Dred Scott decision also stands in the way of Compromise. Congress, according to it, has no power to prohibit slavery in any Territory, Northern or Southern, and cannot constitutionally make any law upon the subject. Any Compromise must therefore be in the form of an amendment to the Constitution — quite a long and uncertain process amid these hurrying events which require immediate action. Thus the decision of Judge Taney became the chief obstacle to the cause which it was intended to bolster, and finally rendered the Crittenden Compromise or any other like it quite impracticable. Davis and Toombs would have accepted it with the words *slave* and *slavery* intrenched in the instrument, as then the boast that “the word *slave* does not occur in the Constitution,” would be no longer true. But the last Compromise with slavery has been made, and the decision of Judge Taney is brought to further the decree of a still higher Tribunal.

Moreover slavery is showing itself more and more allied with the dissolution of the Union. The result is the Union begins to move into the foreground and to align its supporters, who were anti-slavery and pro-slavery and indifferent to slavery. The Triumvirate of Buchanan’s cabinet had called forth powerfully the sentiment of Union in the country among all parties. This is the salient fact of these two months: the trend



toward the unification of the Union men of every sort in the North and in the Border Slave-States. Moreover Lincoln grasps this fact fully and will harmonize himself with it, making it his starting-point. It has become clear that the battle must be fought primarily for the Union and not against Slavery. Lincoln's home, the North-West was more for the Union and less against Slavery than the North-East, whose anti-slaveryism squinted toward disunion, and whose unionism squinted toward compromise.

On the other hand these two months (Jan. — Feb., 1861) bring the Nation more closely to the verge of dissolution than any other time in its history. State after State drops out, with no decisive attempt to stop the breach on the part of the Government, and no united manifestation against it on the part of the People. Upon the razor's edge the Union stood balancing and tipping — will it fall? The Triumvirate valiantly try to stay the dissolving process, and succeed in bringing it to a temporary halt, which, however, seems to be but a truce, till the new Administration steps in.

At this lowest point of national disintegration Lincoln appears and takes hold. His advent, however, soon brings on a new Secession and the last. But this is just what calls forth the mighty reaction towards the Union, sweeps away all Compromise, and steels the Nation's heart to the point of Coercion.

3. *Secession of the Middle Tier of Slave-States.* — This is the third act in the drama of Secession, but it follows the second act by no means so rapidly as the second followed the first. Some two months and a half pass before Virginia secedes (April 17th), trailing after her North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Eleven States have now gone out of the Union, seven belonging to the lower Tier four to the middle Tier. This is the end of the movement, which dashes in vain against the upper Tier of the Slave-States — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, to which four West Virginia is soon to be added. Such then, is the final Alignment of States for the Great War — eighteen Free-States and five Slave-States against eleven Slave-States.

Hitherto we have seen the South as the irritant, the Prime Mover. But with the advent of Lincoln, a change occurs, the new President takes the initiative. The Government shows itself no longer as passive, letting itself be assailed. Not only is the doctrine of Secession denied, but the right of Coercion is asserted by the Executive Power of the land. It is in this last point that Virginia through her Convention grapples with Lincoln and ends by turning secessionist, carrying with her the middle Tier of Slave-States. She assumes to prescribe conditions for the continuance of the Union. She puts up herself as

sovereign, and will act regardless of the compact. This is the very idea which is to be taken out of her by war. Says she in substance: Give up your political victory of 1860, guarantee us against any similar victory, and we will remain in the Union.

Thus Secession begins its final realization with the act of Virginia, having occupied four months of Buchanan, and six weeks of Lincoln. Since the inauguration of the latter, the struggle has really been between the new President and Virginia. Which of the two will yield? Neither. It is true that Charleston continues fortifying, and the problem of Fort Sumter is pressing; also the Southern Confederacy with capital at Montgomery keeps organizing and preparing for war. But Virginia has grappled with Lincoln's idea of Coercion, as declared in his Inaugural and proposes to make him take it back.

Vain is the attempt. If Virginia had possessed a statesman like some of her old ones, statesmen whose souls throbbed in harmony with the movement of Civilization and communed deeply with the World-Spirit, she might have been diverted from her present tendency. She loves the Union in her eminently respectable, formal way; but a new problem has arisen which brings this love to the hardest test. Which will you choose, O Virginia, Coercion or Disunion? For such is the dilemma before you. The answer

of her Unionist Convention sitting at Richmond is, Disunion. Very well, spake a voice out of the future, you will have to be made over, even your Unionism must be re-born.

Thus Virginia, attempting to stop the conflagration, takes fire herself, being inflammable through her passion against any Coercion of the Single-State, even when it is smiting the bond of the Union with all its might. She loves the Union tenderly as her very child; but when this child is lying at death's door, she repels violently the only means by which its life can be preserved.\* With a sincere but strangely contradictory utterance she declares: Not that I love the Union less but I hate Coercion more, and I am going to follow not my love but my hate. I have made my choice: Disunion without Coercion I take to my bosom and fling away the Union with Coercion.

And now with a little inner adjustment we, every one of us, even the humblest, can hear the voice of the World-Spirit replying to these words of Virginia with a kind of ironical modulation in its note peculiar to it when it makes men, States, and whole Ages self-undoing through their own deeds: Yes, go on, Virginia, you are doing just what I wish you to do, and I need your help. My whole aim and end is to destroy slavery, to tear it up by the roots and to burn it to ashes. But I also wish to reconstruct this old

Union so uncertain of itself, actually not knowing whether it is on top or underneath any refractory member of its household. Follow me and revolt; do not take up with Lincoln's Administration and yield to your petty emotion for the Union; refuse to be placated, and force the fight upon the unwilling and perchance cowardly North. Then you are mine wholly, and I can do my will with you as I may.

Virginia listens in a kind of delusive dream, not unlike that of Agamemnon before Troy when he had a lying vision which Zeus sent him, since he was internally ready and even calling for it, that he was going to capture the Trojan city at once. So Virginia dreams Disunion in order to be completely brought back into a new-born Union; she rejects Coercion and so has to be coerced tremendously by the decree of the Gods; she battles for slavery but bravely bayonets it to death, her weapon being strangely turned around and thrust into the heart of what she is fighting to save.

In this way we may cast a fleeting glance forward upon the coming conclusion.

But now returning from this outlook we shall watch the wrestle between Virginia and Lincoln, a kind of gladiatorial combat between a man and State, or rather between their respective ideas. Such is properly the first conflict of the

incoming President, still peaceful but preluding the shock of armies.

(a) On the 4th of March, 1861, a great change takes place at the capital city of the land, Washington — a change we may call it of Prime Movers, of the central directive agency of the government of the Union. Hitherto the Southern mind has been the controlling political power since the Constitution first set the machinery in motion, some seventy years before; but henceforth the North, under its chosen leader with its ruling idea, is to direct the destiny of the Nation. Accordingly this new Prime Mover in the person of its chief representative, mounts the platform in front of the Capitol and voices its purpose not only to the assembled multitude, but to all futurity, in a Presidential inaugural.

It is now generally acknowledged that Lincoln rose equal to the occasion. The Primacy of the Union is the ruling idea of the address, though he does not elaborate this idea upon the disputed point of how it shall be interpreted in its details. He declares that the Constitution and the Laws will be his guide, and that he will execute the Fugitive Slave Law. Yet he fully recognizes the moral wrong of Slavery as the real cause of the whole trouble: "One section believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, and the other believes it wrong and ought not to be extended." He denies the right of Secession: "the Union is



perpetual." He asserts the right of Coercion in its just limits: he will "hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imposts." Then the Law of Conscience must submit in the matter of the Fugitive Slave Law, to the Constitution, and bide its time. That is Lincoln as we have already known him. Moreover the decision of the Supreme Court can be reversed by the People, though it is "binding in any case upon parties to a suit," till it be reversed. Likewise "the central idea of Secession is anarchy," logically ending in the dissolution of all government. Nor does he fail to strike deep when he says that "the rule of the minority is wholly inadmissible," since "they make a precedent, which will in turn divide and ruin them," and hence are self-undoing. Statecaprice is unconstitutional: "no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union," and thus break up the same. "I consider that in view of the Constitution and Laws, the Union is unbroken," in spite of all acts of Secession, and "I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States," in spite of the doctrine against Coercion. Gently but firmly, with hand of iron in a glove of velvet, does the new President assert the Primacy of the Union.

At once the helm of State feels the fresh firm

grip of the Inaugural of Lincoln, who now begins his brief and only period of peace during his entire magistracy. A little more than a month it lasted, and he, in feeling the most peaceful of men, was destined to prosecute to the bitter end one of the bloodiest wars in History. Very clearly do we hear the note of the new Prime Mover in contrast with Buchanan's last four months, or even with his whole administration. The old dualistic Union, half-slave and half-free, is coming to an end through its own inner self-negating contradiction, and its last and most vacillating President, the very embodiment of it put at the head of Government, has stepped out of the White House into private life.

But now a new scene of the drama rises: a State, the oldest State of all, will try to wrest the place of Prime Mover from Lincoln and the North, seeking to be this herself, and at the same time whirling rapidly toward a denial of the Primacy of the Union, which culminates in her Secession.

(*b*) Virginia, hitherto somewhat in the background, now steps to the front and becomes the main pivot of rebellion. She has to decide the momentous question whether she will secede and go with the South, or cling to the Union. Events have brought her to the position of being the center of the Secession movement.

If she does not come to its support, it will collapse; if she does, it will take a new lease of life. The Southern Confederacy is wooing her with every sort of blandishment, not sparing threats; but she holds back and refuses to go out on the inauguration of Lincoln. Four weeks after it (April 4th) her Convention votes down an ordinance of Secession by 89 to 45.

Still it refuses to dissolve and send its members home. Why? She believes in the Union, but will resist Coercion in the Lincoln sense. Secession is wrong or at least impolitic, still the Government cannot put it down. Here lay the grand fatality in the Virginia consciousness; we may deem it her tragic guilt for which she is to suffer more than any other State. At least this is the political idea which is to be washed out of her soul with the blood of her own children. Nay, the contradiction will rend her Statehood itself atwain, and transmit her cleavage to the future in two Virginias.

During the month of March the issue becomes settled clearly and definitely between Lincoln and Virginia. He holds to the Primacy of the Union and says so in his Inaugural. Virginia on the contrary maintains the Primacy of the Single-State. Lincoln was a grandson of Virginia and sought to treat her with the greatest regard. He waited for the Convention to dissolve, but it would not; he even summoned its leading union-

ist, Summers, to Washington for consultation, but he would not come, though he sent a substitute who made a bad impression. Lincoln now saw that this Virginia Convention of Unionists were also employing the Southern menace: Do so and so or we'll secede; above all no Coercion of seceded States. Thus Virginia, just in her manifestation of Unionism, assumes to be dictator over the Union, and to prescribe to the constitutionally elected President what he must do not only in her case but also in regard to the South generally. Here is Lincoln's summary of the matter clinched with a striking metaphor: "Your Convention in Richmond has been sitting nearly two months, and all they have done is to shake the rod over my head." Is not this the very disease, the grand Southern malady, which Lincoln has been called to eradicate? So the Virginia Unionists are going to dominate the Union and its President, or become Disunionists. Certainly theirs is not the Primacy of the Union, out of which they will soon be driven by their own logic as well as by passion.

It has become plain that such Unionism must be transformed, after being smelted in the fiery furnace of war. Lincoln has to give up Virginia and with her the middle Tier of Slave-States. That Convention of her Unionists has struggled for four weeks to make him eat the words of his Inaugural which affirmed the Pri-

macy of the Union. He has not done it, is not going to do it, and so the appeal to force necessarily results. Thus Virginia will not accept majority rule in the Nation, and is getting ready to assail the Union as Free-State producing, whereby she makes herself the chief means of bringing this principle down upon her own head with a bloody thwack, and of becoming a Free-State herself. This outcome she ought to have foreseen, but she no longer produces statesmen with foresight.

Really the Convention of Unionists has put their State and themselves into the power of the Secessionists. Their attitude gets to be more and more that of the menace: if you, O Lincoln, dare lift your finger to coerce South Carolina, out we shall go at once. Can Charleston have a more pressing invitation to open fire on Sumter? The fact is a Virginia secessionist of the first water now rushes down to that city and makes a speech to its people: "I will tell your Governor what will put Virginia in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by the Shrewsbury clock. Strike a blow!" For if you strike a blow, Lincoln will be forced to eat his Inaugural (which he will not), or strike back, and this will be Coercion, against which even Virginia Unionism has staked its existence. *Strike a blow* is the talismanic utterance of the crisis, expressed at the right moment by Roger A.

Pryor of Virginia. Though Major Anderson said that in three days he would have to evacuate Sumter, unless he received in the meantime supplies or "controlling instructions from my government," the order to fire was given by four aides, three South Carolinians and one Virginian, the mentioned Pryor, whose prophecy in reference to his State was at once fulfilled.

Beauregard, the commandant at Charleston, did not directly order the act, nor did Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy. They both defended the act after it was done, but both, if they had been consulted, would probably have waited till Major Anderson's supplies were exhausted, and have permitted him peaceably to evacuate the fort. But South Carolina again seized the initiative, and the first blow of war was struck. Again she performed her function of precipitating the conflict, of determining on what day and in what place it should begin. But the conflict itself was not hers alone, but that of the whole South, and sooner or later had to be fought out. Lincoln answered at once by issuing his call for 75,000 men, and the North rose in a body. Of all the Southern Statesmen whose declarations have come down to us, Toombs showed the clearest foresight as well as gave the best utterance in regard to the future. He was Secretary of State in the Confederate Cabinet, and at its session



poured forth the following mightily-worded protest, according to his biographer: "The firing upon that fort will inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world has yet seen. \* \* \* At this time it is suicide, murder, and will lose us every friend at the North. You will wantonly strike a hornet's nest which extends from mountain to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death. It is unnecessary, it puts us in the wrong, it is fatal." Just about the wisest words spoken in the South during these hot passionate days: Toombs, addicted at times to grandiose bluster so tempting to the Southern orator of this period, shows himself here in his best character, commingling a vein of far-sighted prophecy with lofty poetic expression.

Since the War, Southern and Northern writers have fought over the firing on Sumter, using their pens as weapons, the question being, was this the first blow, the first act of open aggression? Davis, Stephens and many others of the States-Rights school say No! that attack was simply resistance to aggression; the attempt of the United States to provision its own fort in Charleston Harbor was already an act of aggression against the sovereign right of the State of South Carolina. The North did not regard it in that light and does not still. Of course, if one is hunting for grounds of quarrel, each side can fish up a long string of provocations from the

beginning of the Government down. Still that shell fired upon Sumter at 4:30 in the morning of April 12th, 1861, from a mortar of the Confederate Fort Johnson was the primal deed starting the mighty train of blazing gunpowder which kept exploding for four years all over the South.

It must be confessed, however, that the real train, the train of explosive ideas, had long been laid throughout those Southern lands, and was ready or soon would be ready to be touched off in a thousand localities besides Sumter and Charleston. The settlement had to be made, the first gun had to be fired, if not just now at Fort Johnson, then next week or possibly next year somewhere else. The World-Spirit has issued its decree for the grand arbitrament of arms between two desperately contending principles; the exact time and place of the opening struggle is a matter of less consequence, being largely the element of contingency in the movement of History. The dualism of the Union as productive of Free-States and Slave-States is to come to an end, but not without a whirlwind of war enveloping the entire land. Who began it? Well, who did? it is going to begin anyhow, settle the question as you may.

(c) The North now becomes the Prime Mover in its turn, taking the initiative under the lead of Lincoln and never letting it drop till the center of all the preceding irritation has been reached

and thoroughly cleansed of its irritating power by the abolition of slavery and its oligarchical rule. Such is the great new step taken by the Northern Folk-Soul, which has hitherto allowed itself to be ruled by Southerners, often with good reason, for they were the best statesmen.

The South declared that it simply wished to be "let alone" — that is, to be given a free hand in dissolving the Union, and in making Slave States out of Territories. Undoubtedly against these proposals the new Administration had to take a positive stand or ignore the principle which called it into being, ignore the voice of the Age which commanded it to make the Union Free-State producing, in accord with the vote of the People. Lincoln, forbearing to the last and willing to yield in non-essentials and accidentalities, never faltered in asserting the essential point. It may be truly said that in these days he spoke for the Genius of Civilization, becoming the incarnation of the World-Spirit. Many suppose that the People of the North, in their first disinclination and horror of Civil War, would have voted for the Crittenden Compromise. But Lincoln would not let them surrender their own deepest principle. And we shall find that his main function was to hold the People to the War, not through external force but through inner sympathy, by means of which he could always call them back afresh to their

long laborious task. The deepest strand of his nature was to keep in touch with the Folk-Soul and to mediate it with the World-Spirit. He could not be brought to compromise the Union as Free-State producing since this was to him the plain decree of the World-Spirit, and was the distinctive thing which he had to do. Thus he became the guide, the leader, truly the oracle of the People, and was not simply guided by them. He knew that the work must be done now, otherwise it would have to be started again under far harder conditions. He knew that in the school of the Nations the schoolmaster did not spare the rod, and that any faltering or paltering would not go unpunished. At the same time he would not and could not go faster than the People, and he would take all along in his movement — all who could be persuaded to join the flag of the Union. He annulled the proclamations of Fremont and of Hunter till the Border States were ready to adopt his own far more sweeping proclamation of the doom of slavery.

Thus we must grasp Lincoln in his deepest character as a mediator, mediating between the World-Spirit and the Folk-Soul, both of which he has to know, following both in a way, yet controlling both to one great harmonious result. It is true that the Folk-Soul had already received the impress of the World-Spirit, as this book has stated more than once; still this

impress is as yet subjective, ethical, not actualized in the institutions of the land. To make it actual and institutional is the work of the Hero or Genius — here Lincoln, who has to transform into actuality the new Union out of the old, bringing into active existence the Union as Free-State producing henceforth and forever.

Lincoln's call for 75,000 to defend the Union, met with an immediate and overwhelming response of the People and is the prototype of his part in the whole War. He hears the voice of the World-Spirit commanding the new idea on the one side, and he is also deeply communing with the Folk-Soul on the other. The supreme question with him is: Are the people now ready to execute the behest which I hear from above? If not, then I must wait, and even restrain the too precipitate spirits, for the whole people must back the World-Spirit with their conviction and will ere its purpose can be realized. Hence we call him the mediator between these two somewhat shadowy but very puissant entities — the World-Spirit and the Folk-Soul, and he in a manner obeys while directing both to the one grand consummation — the Free-State which generates Free States only. So it comes that Lincoln's words flying from the capital through the nation to its outermost borders and talking to the People are the most significant utterances of the time, and seem to possess an Olympian

power, as if Zeus the Supreme God were speaking and proclaiming the final judgment of the Tribunal of the Ages.

With the firing on Fort Sumter the sweep toward Disunion reaches its extreme point; our federation in its long-continued deflection from the central Sun of the whole System has touched its very aphelion, and the pending question is: Shall it henceforth fly off into infinite space, each member wandering after its own fashion through the future, or shall it make or be made to make a quick turn back toward the source of light and unity? Just at this turning-point stands the form of Abraham Lincoln, and bids the hitherto victorious centrifugal movement cease, or rather gives it a sudden whisk and whirl, and then bowls it around toward the central luminary, out of the sphere of whose influence the entire System of States seemed about to rush into original Chaos. Such is the gigantic historical position of the man at this moment when, in answer to the attack on Sumter, he issues his call to the Nation, which gives a response equally gigantic, and gets ready to march.

Accordingly from the outermost limit of our political World the return begins, not to stop from that day to the present. This is now the centripetal movement, sweeping sunwards till it reaches its perihelion, when possibly a herculean effort of the contrary kind will have to be made,



namely to keep this political world of ours from flying into the all-consuming sun. At present, however, we are occupied not with the future, but with the past, and are to cast our look to the opposite side of our political orbit, and sharply mark that turning-point from Chaos back to Cosmos, from Disunion back to Union.

It is manifest, that the Second Part of the Ten Years' War, which we have named the *Union Disunited* has passed its last stage and wheeled about into a new sweep moving in the other direction, which leads to the *Union Re-united*. This will give a new Part, the Third, lasting some four years and filling the land with the clash of arms.

## Retrospect.

The facts of History may be likened to an army and its organization. Primarily it is composed of individuals, of separate unordered atoms, which are similar to the crude unorganized historic events of a period. Then must come their training and multifarious discipline till they be marshalled into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps and armies. Each has its own leader and order, even if one fundamental principle runs through and unites the whole multitude of men and facts. But this is not all. Over the entire national army, and over the complete array of historic events is placed a Lord paramount who controls both the Army and the History of the Nation unto his purpose. This Supreme Lord we have often sought to glimpse and even to name, under various titles, chief of which is the World-Spirit. With Him it is the main function of written History to make the reader acquainted; at least such is our conception of the matter.

Accordingly we are trying to find the inner ordering of this vast multiplicity of historic details, on the outside so elusive and evanescent, by arraying them in companies, regiments, brigades and the like, and putting them all finally

under the command of their highest leader, the world-historical Generalissimo already mentioned. We repeat that there is no attempt here to set down the fullness of the mere events of History as they bubble out to the surface of the Time-stream; they are not to be left just as they externally appear without their inner process. On the contrary they are to be drilled singly first, then companied, regimented, brigaded until they can be seen marching in the Grand Army of the Supreme Orderer of the World's History.

1. One of the best points at which to observe the incoming presence and authority of the World-Spirit is the equally firm belief of both North and South in the rightfulness of their respective causes. Conviction fought conviction, conscience was pitted against conscience, and in a sense it was God against God. Still one side had distinctly the decision of the Highest Arbiter in its favor. Who is this Arbiter above both, delivering judgment after and through conflict? It is the President over all History, governing it, and directing it toward its end unto which each important epoch is a step or stage, which can be or ought to be formulated when the historic conflict is set down in writing. Historiography, then, is the exposition of the World-Spirit clothing itself in the occurrences of Time. These occurrences in the present connection are political, belonging to the State as

one of the forms of human association. Accordingly we seek to look through these appearances called events, and to behold what controls them and also unto what end they are controlled.

We may likewise consider the two sides as two Folk-Souls, Northern and Southern, into which the one national Folk-Soul is split, having evolved itself into a moral separation as regards slavery. Two hostile convictions we witness; each is still subjective, in the individual, but is seeking to be objective, in the institution, and thereby rule the land. Such are the two contestants, two Folk-Souls, each appealing now to the World-Spirit as Supreme Judiciary of History for a favorable decision.

2. The present question, then, cannot be settled at the forum of conscience; it is something more than a moral question. Both sides are equally conscientious, are equally devoted to their duty or what they take to be such; yet they are in complete opposition and antagonism. Each side thinks that it is right and the other wrong, and they appeal by arms to the Supreme Arbiter, called also the God of battles.

His answer is given in the form of defeat and victory. Permanent defeat of a cause is a negative judgment of the Tribunal of the Ages, rendered after due trial. The lost cause means the condemned cause, condemned at the forum of History, but not necessarily at the forum of Con-

science. Yet these two grand adjudicators of Time's greatest Causes must somehow be brought into agreement at last, and unite in rendering judgment.

Hitherto in History the final decision of the World-Spirit has been through war — certainly an external decision. This may be accepted by the defeated side, perchance has to be accepted; still it retains an element of violence which is alien to victory itself. Accordingly there is the persistent search for some mediating principle between Conscience and the World-Spirit, which may eliminate war and drive it out of History, which it has heretofore dominated. Such a principle must be embodied in an Institution which the conscientious individual has to be continually re-making, that it make him conscientious. No conflict between Conscience and the Constitution, such as we have already seen, will then be possible.

3. As we behold them at present in the North and in the South, one of these warring Consciences is in harmony with the Genius of Civilization, the other is not. One may be said to bear the impress of the World-Spirit, the other not. One keeps step with the movement of the Age, the other runs counter and often says so, with a kind of defiance. Or call them the two Folk-Souls into which the soul of the once whole Nation has been rifted: one of them is chosen

to realize a great stage of the World's History; the other is not only not chosen but is even made to serve the purpose of its opponent.

This calls up for notice the way in which the World-Spirit deals with the unchosen, the defeated peoples of History. These are made to bring about, often through pouring out profusely their own blood, the very thing which they have most opposed. In their mightiest doing they are mightily undoing themselves, and thus seem to be writing a comedy in their own gore. As already noted repeatedly, the Southern States are taking the very means to destroy what they seek to maintain and perpetuate. The delusive dream of domination it is which the World-Spirit sends upon those whose cause is to be wiped out of History.

Herewith, however, the voice of protest begins to be heard against this method. The World-Spirit is put to the question, and its way of dealing with the Nations is cited before a new Tribunal. It has hitherto appeared as Fate, external, arbitrary, even if rational. The World-Spirit is not now exempt from judgment; it also is to evolve, is to be transformed; in a word it is to become institutionalized. Somehow it must be gotten inside the State, no longer remaining outside and destroying the same.

4. It has been repeatedly declared that the World-Spirit has an end, which it is seeking to



realize in its historical movement. What is that end? Evidently the free man or free humanity, each having to attain its ever-widening sphere of freedom through institutions, since these not only embody but secure man's freedom. It may be said, therefore, that the World-Spirit has a great interest in the present American struggle as it is a very important stage in the historic progress of man toward institutional liberty.

Though the United States was justly called a free country from the start, it has reached a point at which it must take a new step toward the goal of History. It has run upon a serious limit to freedom which it must transcend. It can no longer remain half-slave and half-free, and produce both Slave-States and Free-States. Nor can it longer rear slaves and freemen together. Such was the behest of that Superior Power over the two Consciences and over the two Folk-Souls, which Power we have often called the World-Spirit.

This, in the course of Universal History hitherto, has appeared an outside power, outside of the individual and the State. Evidently its destiny is to become inside the political process of Nations, determining the people still by its decree but also being determined by them. In other words the Tribunal of the Ages is to be instituted as a part of popular Government.

5. In the very name of World-Spirit is indi-

cated that it is but one form or phase of Spirit as universal, or of the Absolute Spirit. This has its manifestation in History as well as in other ways, such as Art, Science, Religion and Philosophy. By its very nature it has to reveal itself, and this self-revelation in the present case takes the form of historic events in Space and Time, and under this form it is called the world-historical Spirit, or the World-Spirit for short, which in its spatial and temporal succession seeks after universal freedom, or the freedom characteristic of the Universe as self-conscious.

The World-Spirit has as its end the completely free man in a free Universe made institutional. Neither of these freedoms is yet here, is yet realized, though we have to grasp all History as the path-way leading to both.

6. History has its counterpart in Biography, especially in political Biography, which shows us a great soul filled with the World-Spirit, product of it on the one hand, yet producing it and realizing it on the other. The life of the great genius as statesman reveals the Nation moulding him, then reveals him moulding the Nation. He is first to become the very Norm or Type of his people and their institutional world, then he is to unfold this Norm, in accord with its own inner nature, into its new historical stage as decreed by the World-Spirit. He is both the child of his age and its father; begotten by it, he nevertheless

begets it in its new birth. Just this process of the individual of his epoch Biography is to set forth, when it gets to performing its highest function.

History (political) gives the evolution of Nations into the world-historical process, as they appear going through a long line of rise and fall in Space and down Time. But the Nation has to be functioned by an individual or individuals, directing it so as to make it realize the World-Spirit in its career. Thus we have the salient historic phenomenon of a world-historical Nation and a world-historical Man uniting to produce events which must also be called world-historical. Now History puts its stress upon the side of the Nation and its world-historical events, while the Man is subordinate, though present and active. But Biography puts its stress upon the Man, as the pivotal agent who is the mediator between the Nation and the World-Spirit.

There is no doubt that Abraham Lincoln more completely than any other man represents the epoch of the Ten Years' War in its world-historical significance. Purely the product of the American People, and trained by their institutions, he becomes in turn their supreme trainer and leader to a new institutional order. Step by step he breathes into the Folk-Soul when ready the World-Spirit giving its ultimate command through his voice. With it he com-

munes till he is schooled to speak its speech to the people, who feel the utterance as their own, as that of their highest selves, and at once obey, knowing this, as old Homer would say, to be the word of the God, who appears and appears only to those who are ultimately ready to hear the divine voice.

7. The great pivotal events of History are, accordingly, to be seen and to be portrayed as revealing three spiritual elements in gradation. Primarily they take place in a given Nation, they are national; secondly they are also world-historical, being of the World-Spirit, which is above Nations yet embraces and rules them; finally they are to be carried up to the highest source, higher than the World-Spirit, to the Absolute Ego or Self (Pampsychosis), of which they must be seen to be one form of revelation in the world of Space and Time. Thus the events of History are a manifestation of the Universe as Self (pampsychical), as well as national and world-historical.

It has been often recognized that History is a manifestation of something higher than itself as a simple succession of events. We have had many a Philosophy of History, which term at least indicates that History has its Philosophy, whatever that may be. But Philosophy itself with its line of systems is seen to be in its turn a manifestation of something lying beyond itself,

of some deeper Discipline which is completely self-defining and therein self-revealing. History likewise must be carried back to its profounder sources in such a Discipline, which is surely dawning.

8. The foregoing are some of the general principles underlying this present History in common with all History. Ultimately we have to see the American Ten Years' War, taking its place in the grand march of the supreme historic events of the Nations. The spiritual Totality of History must be viewed at last as that which is determining each of its Parts. But now we shall pass to the last sweep of the present theme.

## PART THIRD.—THE UNION RE-UNITED.

### THE GREAT WAR (1861-1865).

If the previous Part Second had as its leading theme the Union Disunited, and if it kept moving more and more deeply toward separation and disintegration till the shot at Sumter, with the call of Lincoln the current sets in strongly the other way, namely toward Union, or rather toward Re-union and Redintegration. So it comes that a new fundamental chord is struck which runs through and holds together this Part Third, as it moves with many an up and down slowly but persistently toward the Union re-united.

The statement may be made here at the start that this cannot be the old Union, or, in the speech of the time "the Union as it was." The prodigious travail of the World-Spirit is for a new birth of the Union, a veritable palingenesis or regeneration of it which will no longer per-



mit it to remain half-slave and half-free, productive equally of Slave-States and Free-States. This is the rending contradiction which it must now slough off through the fierce ordeal of bloody war, just about the bloodiest in the World's History. That cleft Folk-Soul, whose cleavage has been always getting wider and more threatening through the cancerous growth of slavery, is to undergo a long and painful surgical operation that the Nation be once more healed and whole. And the Northern conflict between the two duties, the moral and the constitutional, is to be solved by getting rid not only of the Fugitive Slave Law, but of the slave himself seemingly for all time in our country. Also the Classism of the South with its minority rule will be shivered to fragments in the earthquake. And the decision of Judge Taney meets with a tremendous reversal through another and higher Justiciary who instead of confirming the decree making slavery national and universal, makes it zero. Thus arises a homogeneous Union as regards freedom, having gotten rid of the ever fighting dualism with which it came into being. The last compromise between the two incompatible sides has been made, seeking to reconcile that which is at bottom irreconcilable. The transformation of the Slave-State into the Free State begins, of course with fierce resistance and mighty uproar, yet there is a new harmony rising

out of the clash of arms and the thunder of cannon. The North, long doubtful and unwilling, and indeed leaderless, has at last nerved itself up to the point, not of subjugating but of assimilating the South by a bold excision of the one great difference under the new leader born for just this supreme work.

Thus our Ten Years' War enters upon its third and final stage, still working at its grand problem which we have so often emphasized: Shall this Union continue to be the parent of both Slave-States and Free-States, or of Free-States only? The problem, however, is assuming a new phase; it is no longer what it was in Kansas, which sought to make this one Territory free; it is no longer what it was in the North, whose purpose reached out to make all Territories free. The Union with its principle of producing Free-States is now on the march southward into the region of Slave-States themselves: Will it apply its principle to them also? Undoubtedly a principle, if it be true, must show itself universal.

I. In order to catch the full sweep of the Great War as well as to fathom its deepest meaning, we must see first its geographical conditions. Already the latitudinal division (known as Mason and Dixon's line) between the two opposing sections has often been mentioned. But there is likewise a longitudinal

division from North to South, which is quite as important as that from East to West, though it has not been duly noticed by historians. This division separates the old States from the new, the Original States from the Derived, the sea-board States from the river-valley States. The Allegheny mountains in general constitute the dividing-line drawn by Nature between these two parts of the country, and form a physical limit much more pronounced and obstructive than the one running East and West and separating the Free-States from the Slave-States. Let it be noticed that the principle of division in each of these two cases is very different: in the one this principle is freedom and slavery, in the other it is origination and derivation.

Now these two lines — North to South and East to West — may be conceived as crossing each other (which they actually do at that peculiar piece of territory called the Virginia Pan-handle) and as dividing the entire country into four Groups of States which we shall designate as follows:

(1) *The East-Northern Group of States:* these are the Free-States of the Original Thirteen, seven of them, to which we shall add the two admitted subsequently, Maine and Vermont, these being simply portions of old States made into new ones. Of the mentioned seven States the characteristic upon which we now are to place

chief stress is that they assisted in originating the Union and Constitution, hence we shall often call them by way of contrast the Original or Originative Free-States. Though Rhode Island absented herself from the Convention (in 1787), she ratified the Constitution and became a member of the primal Union.

(2) *The East-Southern Group of States*: these are the Slave-States of the Original Thirteen, six of them altogether, and every one directly connected with the Atlantic Ocean, which is also the fact in regard to the old Free-States. The present group likewise took part in forming the Union and Constitution. Four of them will go into the rebellion, the two northerly ones never seceding (Delaware and Maryland).

The two preceding groups comprise the Old-Thirteen, the Colonies which separated from Great Britain during the Revolutionary War, won their independence, and established the new Government. They all have the common trait of being parties to that first Compact, Covenant, Partnership, Federation — whatever be the name one chooses to call it — which made the United States or the Nation as a Government distinct from yet sprung of the Single-States composing it. In this regard there is a strong contrast with the two following Groups.

(3) *The West-Southern Group of States*: these are the Slave-States derived from the Union

made by the Old Thirteen, nine in number, three Tiers of them running from East to West. Seven will secede, two refusing. Children of the Union are these seceding New-States, whose territory in several cases had been bought by the parent and defended in battle. This Group distinctly divides into two sub-Groups, inner and outer, or fluvial and marine States (four and five respectively). Passing northward we complete the circle of the States in the following final division.

(4) *The West-Northern Group of States:* these are the Free-States derived from the Union, eight in number (including Kansas and leaving out California and Oregon which belong to the Pacific Group and had little to do with War directly). These eight lie in the Valley of the Great River, and are interconnected both in geography and in spirit. They are the free children of the State-producing Union, and have a peculiarly strong attachment to their Mother as the origin of their freedom, whom they long to liberate and make wholly Free-State producing.

Thus we have two Groups of Derived States, slave and free, as we had of the Original States. We must note, however, that the Derived State is the equal of the Original State under the Constitution, being a full member of the Union and participating in its State-making function. That is, the originated State also originates



States, having become both originated and originating through the Constitution. On the other hand the Old-Thirteen are simply the originating States (hence their title of *original*) having originated Union and Constitution. Let the reader mark attentively this distinction between the two kinds of States, for it influences profoundly the entire movement of the approaching War and runs a line of transformation through the Union after the War. Here it may be permitted to cast one brief outlook upon the future: the original (or originating) States, the whole of them, North as well as South, are to be made over and to become originated also as members of the new Union.

All four of these Groups, accordingly, have distinct characters; each has its own decided individuality, being born with a special political bent. Four different characters, then, we behold, necessary products of the different comingling of the four political elements already mentioned: freedom and slavery on the one hand, on the other the Union-begetting and the Union-begotten elements. Diversely do these principles enter into and constitute the four preceding Groups, which from the present point of view may be looked at in a kind of circle and characterized as the Original Free-States, the Original Slave-States, the Derived Slave-States, and the Derived Free-States.



II. And now the question rises: Which of these four Groups is to take the leading, creative victorious part in the Great War just at hand? Or, to state the same meaning in a different way: Which of them is the chosen representative of the World-Spirit in the grand contest? Or, in a still different form: Whose character is to rule, whose principle is to prevail, of the four? Looking backward, we can definitely exclude the two Groups of Slave-States from the problem. But there are likewise two Groups of Free-States deeply participating in the common contest, each with its own political character and principle. Which is to take control and to guide the whole movement, and finally to realize its own essential spirit in the completed result?

Already the finger of History has drawn the preliminary outline of the answer to the foregoing question in recording the political struggles of Kansas, of Illinois, and of Ohio, all of which States belong to the West-Northern Group, and have sounded the key-note of the Great War. Moreover out of this Group has risen the Leader of the new Order, the Great Man of the Epoch, who has been selected to go to the Capital of the land, and from that center to control the colliding masses, and to evolve gradually out of the old Union the new one, whose creative soul is to be Free-State producing henceforth and forever.

Such is, then, the round which we have traced,

starting in the North-East, and passing down the Atlantic coast to the South-East, thence turning to the South-West and mounting up to the North-West. It is the grand cycle of the States of the Union, through which the path of victory during the War moves, though in a reverse way, sweeping from the North-West Southwards down the Mississippi Valley, then Eastwards to the Atlantic, and then Northwards. This is the geographical framework of the entire conflict now to take place.

In only one of the preceding Groups of States has the Union hitherto shown itself as Free-State producing. Now this is the principal which is to be realized and made universal. The West-Northern Group thus is the Norm or Type, after which the Union is now to be patterned. The other three Groups are to be more or less transformed in this regard, are to be assimilated to the new Norm of the Union. The principle upon which the War turns is the genesis of the State, and this principle it is which puts the American struggle in line with the greatest and deepest struggles of the World's History. The genetic act of a Nation must be its most significant act and test of all other acts. What kind of a State can it produce out of itself? Better or worse than it is? The American Union as State-producing has produced two kinds, Free-States and Slave-States; one is better and one is worse

than it is itself. We speak the verdict of History when we say that the Derived Free State is better as a political organization than the Derived Slave-State, yea, better than its parent the Union as begetter of States, half of them slave and half free. So it comes that the Derived Group of Free States furnishes in their own deepest character and origin the Prototype or Norm which is to transform the other three Groups, and also the Union.

We have already noted that Lincoln had to hold his party to its fundamental principle, if not to transform it in the East-Northern States. In fact he has done this twice: first as to Popular Sovereignty in 1858, and secondly as to Compromise in 1861. The same character he is soon to show upon a far wider field.

III. Nature has sharply engraved her lines of difference upon the two Northern Groups of Free-States. The Eastern are marine States, bordering upon the Ocean and its bays; each of them is thus connected separately with the rest of the world. Such a situation gives them a certain independence, yea particularism, whose evils were a prime motive for making the Constitution. Its rivers for the most part flowed down from the mountains in single streams with few affluents of any size, and emptied into the Ocean. Up these detached river valleys the people migrated and formed their early settle-

ments, which had their own outlet into the great World. Thus the Atlantic States became separate by nature and sharply individualized; each rayed out independently from the great reservoir, the sea, which commercially was their main connecting element. Such was the physical basis of the Old Thirteen, Northern and Southern, and formed a kind of mould for their political character.

But when we cross the Alleghenies, a wholly different prospect, yes a different world physiographically unrolls before our eyes. We enter a series of great river-valleys, which unite and form one River Valley greatest of all, or rather it is all of them together. The streams, ever combining and then re-combining, constitute at last a single vast system of rivers which produce finally the one supreme River, affectionately called by its own Aboriginal people the Father of Waters. Truly Union is stamped upon the very face of this enormous territory. Very different is the word which the rivers and their adjacent valleys speak on the Atlantic coast, with little or no inter-connection.

In such a land a new kind of States will arise, primarily by the decree of nature herself. The States springing up in the River-Valley exclusively will certainly present a contrast to those springing up along the Ocean. The fluvial States, inter-locked by their navigable streams

into one mighty totality for thousands of miles from the Rockies to the Alleghenies, cannot be a series of uninterconnected Commonwealths lying alongside of one another as they must exist on the seaboard; on the contrary they will form an organic whole more completely developed than is possible under other conditions. The old States have indeed established the Union, but the new States will re-establish it, transforming it and even transforming the old States which made it. Note the grand gathering of the Rivers flowing in a westerly course from one line of mountains, and in an easterly course from the other line of mountains, till they all join in the common stream hastening southward to the Gulf. In the middle months of 1861 the people are rising along these streams and following them down to their junction with the one great River, along with whose waters they intend to sweep to the sea, in defense of the endangered Union. The mustering of the Rivers of the West-Northern States not only images but suggests and even urges the mustering of the inhabitants, beckoning them on to their task. We may also see how the East-Northern Free-States could show such readiness to compromise the new Union won by the Presidential election of 1860 as something not altogether their own, as quite alien to their political consciousness. In fact they were not born of the old Union,

though they helped make it; they could not have the same affection for it as the West-Northern States, since it was not their parent, and not altogether their child. The true future character of the Union could only be inherited by the offspring.

So we have to put stress upon the mountainous watershed, so strongly emphasized by Nature, which separates the Oceanic from the River-Valley States, the physically interconnected from the physically divided Commonwealths. It is not said, however, that these physical characteristics make the new State, which rather finds them and is unfolded through them from its germ to its flowering. The seed of the State has to be brought to the favoring soil, like other seed. Man carries his institutional world with him in his migrations, and plants it first of all. In a propitious environment it will flourish and come to its full maturity, otherwise it is likely to lag and wither, never realizing what lay potentially in the germ.

Properly, then, it is Institutions which migrate and therein develop more and more toward their end which is freedom actualized. To be sure these Institutions must have reached a point at which they can master and utilize both the extent and the configuration of the territory to which they have come. The North-American Indians, the first occupants, never did and never



could bring out the significance of the Mississippi Valley in the World's History, which is verily its highest significance, because they had not the Institutions to do it. The Anglo-Saxon backwoodsman took with him not merely his ax and gun, but rude and uncouth as he was, he bore in his brain a new institutional order, and therein was likewise the bearer of the World-Spirit, who presides over the birth of all great epoch-turning States, as they have appeared in Time.

Thus the forthcoming State or Union of States finds its physical counterpart in the Mississippi Valley, its terrestrial abode prefigured by Nature's own hand. This abode, as already noted, differs decidedly from the Atlantic home of the old Colonies. The Earth's architecture, erecting the first edifice for man, is here of another style, and is adapted for another guest. Still we must not think that Nature makes the State; this we can say just as little as that the State makes Nature. In the present case we can see that both have been evolving for each other and into each other for long historic and prehistoric aeons. Moreover, we can also see that both were created thus evolving toward a common end, in which each, for the present at least, attains its highest destiny.

IV. We have, therefore, to take notice of the physical contrast between the two sets of

American States, those lying along the Ocean and those interconnected in the River Valley. But we are also to observe that this same general difference pervades the entire course of the World's History, from the Orient through Europe to the Occident.

Looking back to the distant Past we see Oriental States rising and flourishing in the great River Valleys, the Nile and the Euphrates, for instance. But even when these States bordered on the Sea they obtained no mastery of it; their civilization was fluvial, not marine. Not till Phenicia is reached, does the sea begin deeply to determine man's life and history. Moreover, Oriental government was autocratic, despotic we call it, even if it sprang from the consciousness of the people. On the great rivers of the East the first cities were built by large bodies of men associating and thus civilizing themselves.

But when we come to Europe we find a striking change. Civilization moving along the North Mediterranean, takes possession successively of three peninsulas, Greece, Italy and Spain, till it reaches the Atlantic. Following the Ocean northward, it becomes modern and then advances eastward toward Prussia and Russia of to-day, having completed seemingly the territorial circuit of Europe. The Mediterranean was indeed the trainer, the teacher of the sea's conquest — an instruction which the Orient did not

have. Those were Mediterranean sailors who performed the first great Oceanic feats, the discovery of America, the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, and the circumnavigation of the Globe. Europe's civilization did not develop in great River Valleys like that of the Orient. The employment and mastery of the Sea and Ocean play into it from beginning to end. Rome was indeed on the Tiber and London on the Thames, but each of these rivers sinks into insignificance, when the one is compared in historic value with the Roman's Mediterranean and the other with the Englishman's Atlantic. The rivers of Europe as a whole radiate from the center, are centrifugal, and flow down into the seas, to the North, South, East. Thus they put a separative stamp upon the face of the country.

Crossing the Ocean, we find in the United States both characteristics, the marine and the fluvial, combining in a manner Europe and the Orient. That is, we note the presence of a vast River Valley which is again to determine civilization, and also the presence of sea-coast States cut through by separate streams flowing down from a system of mountains. Such are the two supreme physical characteristics of the land — the one allying it to the Orient, the other to Europe. Nature herself thus suggests a new synthesis of man and his institutions.

So the World's History, after starting in the

fluvial civilization of the Orient, and passing through the essentially marine civilization of Europe has again settled down in another River-Valley larger than any Oriental one, larger than even Europe's marine territory — Southern, Eastern and Northern. Such is the great Occidental River-Valley which is busied in this Ten Years' War with its own distinct world-historical problem. For it has, in the first place, to cleanse itself of slavery; then it must sweep around into the marine States, which are not only to be enfranchised where necessary, but are to be transformed and re-constituted into a new Union, which is to embrace both the hitherto dominating elements of civilization physically considered, that of the Ocean and that of the River-Valley.

Europe has indeed many River-Valleys and some large ones, but they are essentially diverging, radiating mainly from a common center, as already suggested, if we except Russia and two or three other borderlands. But the Mississippi Valley, or rather system of valleys, is essentially converging, centripetal we may say; especially is this the case in the West-Northern Group of States. On the other hand the great River-Valleys of the Orient, such as those of the Nile or Euphrates, show little convergence, but are mainly long lines from the source of the river to its mouth, to which its people cling directly,

shunning the sea and other peoples. The Mississippi Valley is verily a federation of many River-Valleys with their streams, and in its physical form calls for a corresponding form of Government. Therein it differs from the Orient as well as from Europe. Moreover this federated River-Valley has also its line of sea-board Territory on the East and South, and also on the West.

V. If we now turn to the spiritual or institutional origin of this West-Northern Group of States, we find a surprising parallelism with the physical character of the land. If Nature has stamped Union upon its face, Institutions have written the same word upon its heart. These States were born united by deeper ties than any other Group. They were brought forth by Mother Union as Free-States, freedom being their peculiar endowment from her by birth. They accordingly know the Union as Free-State producing in their own case, and reverence her with the gratitude of free-born children who have risen to a consciousness of their inheritance. Moreover this is the only Group which were begotten free by the Union, wherein the latter shows its genetic soul to be productive of Free-States. Hence this Group had to assert its birthright transmitted from the Union as Free-State producing, which became its strongest

principle of action, being its very character and genesis.

The East-Northern States had no such origin and consequently no such institutional character. They were indeed free, but in the matter of slavery they had been freed through themselves individually and not through the Union. Thus it lay in their character to leave each Single-State to free itself. They made the Union indeed, and made it State-producing, but this profoundest genetic act of it had to be left double, indeed contradictory, in the fact that it was the creative source of both Slave-States and Free-States. Now mark the result. The Free-State child of this Union made dualistic by the Old-Thirteen is born free of its mother's contradiction, being liberated therefrom by its birth. As far as it is concerned, the Union is Free-State producing — wherein lies its deep political difference from the East-Northern Group.

Still the Derived Free-State having become a member of the Union, sends its representatives and senators to Washington, whereby it shares in the State-producing process of the Union which still begets both kinds of States, slave and free. Thus it too becomes whelmed into that original contradiction of the Constitution, till one day a new political party arises, saying: No more Slave-States out of our Territories. This principle we have already seen unfolding west-



ward and eastward till it elects the President, and thus makes itself national.

But it is not going to stop half way on its career. A principle is universal, and when it once gets started, its innermost necessity is to make itself universal. The Union as Free-State producing is such a principle, which is now bent upon universalizing itself. It may have been first promulgated elsewhere and even long ago, but it belongs creatively to the West-Northern Group of Free-States, which must impart their own deepest principle to the rest of the States and even to their creator, the Union itself, which has to be re-created in the very soul of it, namely, in its creativity, being made no longer creative of Slave-States.

Moreover this Group must feel the original contradiction of the Union more keenly than any of the other three Groups. The West-Northern Free-State, born of the double Union, has to produce or share in producing Slave-States, when it becomes, as it must, a member of that Union. Thus it has, though born free, to beget slaves — from which act it must internally revolt as deeply repugnant to its birthright and perverse of its innate character. Instinctively it has to meditate about transforming such a Union, which the East-Northern States made or had a hand in making. Such a transformation of it is, however, not to destroy it, but is its higher evolution.

Accordingly, the only Free-States produced by the old Union were the West-Northern Group, which will now wheel about and sweep back to their central source, and make it Free-State producing only — make it always produce Free-States like themselves, calling forth thereby the sole true Union, homogeneous in the matter of freedom. That being settled for once and for all, it can be otherwise as heterogeneous as it pleases. Each section can still have and assert its own special character, and each State can develop its individuality to the fullest extent, provided that it commit no wrong upon its neighbor or upon the common weal. But when any State hereafter shares in the genetic process of the Nation, it must take part in generating a Free-State; never again can it help produce a Slave-State. Thus the creative soul of the Union is transformed, is re-created just in its deepest and most essential point, namely in its power to create new States and thus to renew perpetually itself. And in this respect the old Free-States, as well as the old Slave-States, have been transformed, being made now to produce through the new Union, not two opposite kinds of States, but one concordant kind and one only.

It may be said, therefore, that the West-Northern Group of States have the principle of political unity and of Union deeply grounded in their origin and character; they have it more

decisively than any other Group of States. The result is they show a common spirit, which is not hampered by State lines to the same degree as elsewhere. Among them the inter-State feeling seems quite as strong as the State feeling.

Still a dead uniformity does not prevail in these States; they show great differences, much variety, which, however, does not lie so much between them as within them. This fact too must be looked at.

VI. We are now brought to consider the remarkable diversity of inhabitants who make up this West-Northern Group of States. The migration thither had its own peculiar character. It may be deemed a new phase of that great Wandering of Peoples which has accompanied the World's History down Time and forms its primal substrate. This migration was North European, it could show hardly a drop of Latin blood. The old Teutonic stock was again moving, and settling vast territories, in obedience to that profound migratory instinct which long ago drove it out of Central Asia, through Europe Northern and Southern, across the Ocean to America, where it is now lighting down in great flocks upon the virgin soil of the Mississippi Valley. Again the Norseman, the German and the Anglo-Saxon, hoary warlike shapes of old dominating Europe's History, appear in a new arena, bent upon a new conquest. Not now with battle-ax

and sword but with that other kind of edged weapons, the wood-ax and the ploughshare, they come not in massive armies, but individually for the most part; they have not to seize and hold the land by violence, but they receive it almost as a free gift from a new institutional order of which they are at once members, and which they feel to be their own from the start. Still they have not lost their old fighting qualities, which they are soon to show on many a bloody field, in another mighty world-historical contest.

These are indeed remote outlooks into the distant Past of historic origins. Now we shall drop down into our own era again, and take a glance at the immediate sources of this population pouring into the West-Northern country. Three main streams of it may be distinguished.

(1) The first was the foreign migration, coming largely from Germany and Scandinavia, and settling in the congenial climate of the North West. It was made up of hardy farmers and mechanics who could dare the intervening Ocean for the sake of bettering their own condition and that of their families. Their leaders were mostly liberals who had abandoned Europe. Many Germans flocked to the free West after the failure of the revolutions in 1830 and in 1848. They shunned the Slave-States with two exceptions, Texas, where they could and did occupy whole counties, and Missouri, which had a strong

native element hostile to slavery, and in whose chief city, St. Louis, they had become a controlling political power.

This migration from Northern Europe was a kind of repetition and renewal of the old invasion of England from the same quarter. The English still show a strong infusion of Scandinavian and German blood. But this second great migration of Teutonic peoples westward (which is still going on), skipped their first landing place, Great Britain, with good reason, and crossed the sea to the New World, and largely to the newest part of it, watered by the affluents of the Mississippi.

The Teutonic element was already powerful in 1860. It sided chiefly with the party hostile to the spread of slavery. It doubtless gave the State of Illinois to Lincoln in his contest with Douglas both in 1858 and 1860. It furnished to Lyon and Blair the regiments which held Missouri firmly in the Union at the outset of the War.

(2) The next stream of migration here to be mentioned came from the eastern Free States, particularly from New England and occupied in the new territory a northern belt from East to West. These people brought the Yankee thrift, the democratic habit, the religious feeling of the Puritans, but above all the moral spirit which had been strongly impressed with wrongfulness



of slavery. Also they could get excited over the temperance question and the observance of the Sabbath, in which matters considerable friction was begotten between them and their Teutonic neighbors, though both agreed on the great overshadowing question of slavery.

Still these New England people far back were of the same Teutonic blood and speech, even if their ancestors had set out from the common Fatherland twelve or perchance fourteen centuries before the new migration had begun to budge from the original home. But both migratory streams had at last flowed together on the same distant spot of Earth, the one reaching it through a stretch of English History which long antedates Alfred, the other reaching it through a stretch of German History which long antedates Charlemagne. A very different historic development, therefore, lurks in each, and is certain to show itself. In both, however, lies the European movement out of barbarism to civilization, out of the old Teutonic tribe to the modern State, though this movement proceeded on diverse lines going from the same general source to the same general end.

Noticeable also is a native, German-American migration, quite distinct from the foreign one, that of the Pennsylvania Germans, who moved on a line westward from their State to and beyond the Mississippi. Almost wholly agricultu-



ral were these people, quite inaccessible to new ideas though religious and simple-minded, exceedingly tenacious of old habits, one of which was to vote the Democratic ticket, be it what it may, in contrast with their foreign kindred recently arrived. Among the latter the names of Schurz, Hecker and Sigel became distinguished for the strong support given to their adopted country.

(3) It is, however, the third great stream of migration to the North-West which specially interests us at present. This came mostly from the old Slave-States, particularly from Virginia, though the new Slave-States, notably Kentucky, furnished a large contingent. To all these Southern emigrants must have been present a choice of future residence, that between a Slave-State and a Free-State, and they chose the latter, for one reason or other, but chiefly through some dissatisfaction with the system of slavery. So they filled up southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and even pushed across the Mississippi into Iowa, through which we have seen them pouring down into Kansas. They formed a distinctively Southern belt in the East Northern group of States, though other elements were not absent and sometimes dominated in localities.

It is not said, however, that they were all anti-slavery, or even a majority of them, since they were apt to bring from the South a dislike

of the negro, free or slave. The abstract humanity of the German and the New Englander was not theirs. Still the greater number of them became Free-State men, and furnished a large part of the early Kansas fighters. We have already noted the effect of this Southern migration upon the South itself (see preceding p. 310). It unquestionably lost in this way many of its choicest people, the most progressive, aspiring, freedom-loving. Doubtless this migration was the main reason why the early emancipation movement, at first very strong, gradually declined and finally ceased altogether in the States of Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky. It was much the easier thing for those who were dissatisfied with slavery to pack up and move into an adjacent Free-State than to wage a doubtful fight in their own State. What they wanted lay near at hand, without any contest. Southern apologists have often said that emancipation was blasted by the agitation of the Abolitionists in the North, who were regarded as trying to interfere in a matter which was none of their business. The argument implies that the Southerners, at first inclined to do the right thing, changed to the wrong thing from spite. We think too much of them to believe that this could have been their leading motive, even if it may have prevailed with some persons.

Another important fact about this Southern

migration to the West-Northern States is the large number of leaders it furnished them, herein surpassing decidedly the other two elements. The New England consciousness was more moral and less institutional, which fact made it the mother of good preachers, but not of so good statesmen. The truth is the Puritan never fully recovered from his primal revolt against the constituted authority of his English home. This revolt was indeed what made him, was his creative act. On moral and religious grounds he broke with his State and ruler. He may have been justified in his revolt, probably was; still the twist it gave him remained ever afterwards and he bore it with him to the new world and to the new West. Virginia, largely sprung of the Cavalier, never had such a bent in its birth; from the start it was more institutional and less moral. It produced a marvelous harvest of lawyers, judges, statesmen, who organized and governed the country; but its crop of preachers and writers was much inferior in size and excellence.

We can well ponder the fact that the greatest leader the North ever had was a Southerner. Lincoln was born in Kentucky, his family came from Virginia. Many of his most prominent associates in Illinois were from the South. The best gift Virginia ever had, greater than that of any other State, namely the gift of political leadership, migrated also into the North-West

and showed itself there among her children, when it had declined at home.

The Southerners also were chiefly of Anglo-Saxon blood; they therefore belonged to that same Teutonic stock of which the Puritans were members. In England the division between the two parties had taken place, and this division they had transplanted to America, in separate Colonies however. But now these two diverse parties had come together again into the same State and into the same series of States, and were in the process of being brought to co-operate for an end greater than either has yet had. Emphasize, then, we must, for the sake of bringing out the continuity of History, that the descendants of the Cavalier and the Roundhead are entering a new country in common after their bitter separation in Old England some two centuries before. But the stranger fact is that along with both of them are coming the direct descendants of their hoary Teutonic ancestors, from whom the separation took place more than a dozen centuries before, as if the old stock of their race had been tapped to get a fresh supply of its blood for the population of the new land. This we may deem a concentration and re-union of various Teutonic branches which had long been separated and even hostile.

Our next point must be to find what unites

these hitherto discordant elements, and gives them their common end. German, English, and even American writers appeal to the primordial Teutonic love of freedom manifested already against the Roman in the forests of Germany. But this love of freedom has shown the opposite tendency also: it separates quite as much as it unites. Hence there is need of considering the special form which the common impulse of freedom has taken so that it has overcome the somewhat centrifugal Teutonic Folk-Soul, which far down in its deepest depths underlies nearly all the diverse strata of population in the West-Northern group of Free-States.

VII. These three streams of migratory peoples—the Foreigner, the Easterner, and the Southerner—could be united, in spite of their diversity, upon one political principle, that of stopping the extension of slavery to the territories. They had all chosen to migrate to a Free-State instead of a Slave-State. This choice could be made the point of their association into an active party. What determined their migration could be brought to determine their political organization. To be sure time was necessary for the fruit to ripen. Still we can see that the West-Northern Group of Free-States simply organized their own principle of existence into a new party, which soon took possession of a decided majority of their people.

Another effect of different belts of population located within the same State, yet running across State boundaries into other adjacent States, was to join the States so belted together into a new sort of Union. The result was that State lines did not mean so much as in the old Colonial States, or even in the new Slave-States. For instance, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois are more decidedly united by their belts of population than they are separated by their political limits, which are purely artificial. On the other hand, Kentucky, a new State, has substantially but one belt of homogeneous population from East to West. It has no heterogeneous belts of people breaking over its political limits, and finding their own kin and kind beyond the latter. Hence Kentucky has developed a unique State pride or State love, which cannot be found in Ohio, Indiana or Illinois. Of course the State limit is a great matter everywhere in the South and was emphasized by the doctrine of State Rights. Such a doctrine never did and never could flourish so prodigiously in the West-Northern States, where separate political limits would not take deep root in the emotions of her stratified inhabitants. This State pride is found in the East-Northern States also, notably in Massachusetts, being there an inheritance of the colonial period. Ohio, for instance, looks across the river at Kentucky, and sees her at this



moment celebrating a grand reunion of her children from every quarter of the whole country and hears them singing with an enormous outlay of emotion "My Old Kentucky Home."— But Ohio has only to say: I can't do that; I haven't the song, and I haven't the feeling which originally made it and sings it still with so much fervor.

So it must be confessed that in the West-Northern Group State patriotism is the weaker and Union patriotism is the stronger force. This fact lies in their very genesis. The Old-Thirteen were children of England and of Europe; they are so still in many respects, being not yet fully made over. But the new States of the West are children of the Union, having no other parent to love; hence their single-hearted devotion to that parent so strikingly manifested in the War. Moreover upon this West-Northern Group the Union had bestowed her best gift, freedom. As already often declared, the State-producing Union in their case alone produced Free-States, and thus imparted to them in their origin a peculiar character, which is destined to transform all the States, new and old, and even the Union itself.

VIII. When we regard the manner of settlement in this Group of West-Northern States, we find it to be quite different from that of the other three Groups. It was almost wholly an individual settlement of Towns, Counties and

States, all of which were built up quite consciously by the act of the settlers, each co-operating with the rest. In New England, on the contrary, the original colonists came in congregations usually, and established communities headed by the minister. So also largely in Pennsylvania and other East-Northern States. Thus the already organized Village Community with its members was still the type of settlement, as it had been in Europe from time immemorial. In the South the slave-holder, migrating with his slaves into the new Slave-States carried with him his institution and established a kind of aristocracy, of which he was the center. Nothing of the sort could exist in the free North-West, to which men came as individuals, entered their piece of land already surveyed by the Government, and started at once building their local institutions. Never before in the World's History was the founding of the State so completely bethought and prepared for by its people; the origin of Government was brought back directly to the individual who was to live under it.

Thus man has become for the first time a conscious institution-builder; he is no longer to be put into his institutional world from the outside but he has to make it or rather re-make it, for undoubtedly he has the pattern of it primarily in the Constitution of his country, and also in

his own brain. He is now a self-organizer, which trait the armies of this Group of States are to show in the forthcoming contest. It might be supposed that the free man would not be amenable to military organization, but he will not only take it but make it over anew for himself, since his freedom is itself organized and organized by him, being not an arbitrary but an institutional freedom. It may be added that these people are also used to firearms, being not afraid of a gun and knowing how to handle it effectively and what it is made for. The European peasant cannot be supposed to have any such power of self-organization, and he as soldier has to be drilled into an intimate acquaintance with his nearest friend, the shooting iron which he must carry.

Such was the individual character of this Western migration, even if communities sometimes migrated as wholes, especially religious communities, as Shakers, Quakers, Dunkards, and others of the kind. The settler usually acted through himself, and, taking the initiative, moved to the new country from his old State, not as a member of a tribe, or congregation, or of any form of the Village Community—the old Teutonic and even Aryan way of migration. The self-determining individual has become the unit of association, and begins to build his in-

stitutional home consciously rather than by instinct.

The cities of the West Northern Group of States had their own stamp in being river-cities, lying mainly on the one great stream or its affluents, which became lines of commercial inter-connection between them. But in the East-Northern Group the chief cities were sea-cities, each lying on the Ocean independently, and being an outlet or inlet to and from Europe, to which they turned their face. In general we can see that the East-Northern Group and in fact the Old-Thirteen as a whole look outward, into and across the sea, while the Mississippi Valley States as a whole look inward, are introverted if not introspective. We can truly say that even their physical aspect shows a tendency to look to themselves and not abroad, which fact is also indicated and emphasized by their manner of settlement. Thus we note two distinct tendencies pertaining to this matter. In the West the individual starts with himself and creates his institutions from the bottom up to the General Government; while in the East he did not create but was born into his institutional world — the community and the State were given to him. Undoubtedly he has made them over partially; but not till he breaks loose from his community and State, is he reduced to his individual Self which has to make anew all his institutions. Thus he

goes back and recreates out of himself all his social presuppositions.

We are therefore, to note that the Free-States of the West are inhabited by a people or by their descendants, who left their State and its local feeling behind, an act not favorable to the maintenance of State ties. Often these people have removed a second time from one State to another, the new generation seeking a new State further westward. But everywhere the emigrant found the Union, which had gone before him, surveyed and secured his new home. So he knew and loved the Union better than he did any particular State, whereas the inhabitant of the Old-Thirteen knew and loved his State better than he did the Union and originally before the Union existed, which was indeed made by them.

This fact will show its significance and its power in a unique way during the War. The Northern and Southern members of the Old-Thirteen were the makers of the Union by mutual agreement; hence the thought lies near that the same parties might unmake it by mutual agreement. Such an opinion was largely held in the North as well as in the South, as we have seen. But the old States are no longer the sole parties to the compact (if compact it be), are no longer the sole determiners of the Union, which has begotten a numerous and courageous offspring, the new States, who do not propose to

let the source of their being perish without a struggle, or even be remodeled without regard to their existence. On the contrary they must do the remodeling, or rather it must be done in accord with the spirit of the new and not of the old States. The argument for separation might be valid for the old States but it cannot be accepted by the new States, which will return to the beginning and reconstruct the argument itself as well as the States. The genetic principle of their existence, the State-producing Union, these new States cannot allow to be made a nullity without self-nullification. In fighting for the Union they are fighting for their principle of creation. So they have much more at stake than the Old-Thirteen can have, since the latter existed before the Union. Wherewith another duty rises to view: the new States must really make a new Union, and re-unite with it the old States, thus unionizing them anew.

A striking, indeed a startling reflection of this fact will be seen in the course of the war itself. The old States dividing into the Northern and Southern Groups and raising great armies, will fight each other desperately, yet neither can conquer the other. A line of permanent separation seems drawn between them, over which neither can pass without the penalty of defeat. In like manner the new States also dividing into the Northern and Southern Groups and raising



great armies, will fight each other desperately, but with quite the opposite result. The line of separation between them keeps moving further southward and vanishing more and more, till it is quite obliterated by the soldiers of the West-Northern Group. These points we shall set forth more fully.

IX. If we look at the military movements of the War — the most impressive visible manifestation of it — we observe four distinct armies, one for each of the above-mentioned divisions of the whole country. The scheme will then be as follows: —

1. The East-Northern Army.
2. The East-Southern Army.
3. The West-Northern Army.
4. The West-Southern Army.

These four armies were chiefly made up of men from their respective sections. Each of these large bodies of soldiers showed a distinctive character corresponding to their separate localities. The first two were arrayed against each other during the whole War, and the scene of fighting was substantially one small piece of ground lying between the two Capitals, Washington and Richmond. The second two were likewise arrayed against each other, and the scene of their fighting was every seceded State of the Union but one, the whole of which the West-Northern Army overran, pursuing its defeated antagonist. Thus it re-

duced or neutralized ten out of the eleven States in rebellion—all except Virginia. We may consider its line of battle as that of a radius drawn from the Capital as center and circling about the entire revolted territory, even if Texas was left largely to itself, being quite isolated after the fall of Vicksburg. The sweep was that of a huge arm, the arm of Mother Union reaching out to the extreme border and bending around to embrace her rebellious children, still dear though naughty. On the other hand the Eastern military movement seemed fixed to one little stretch of Territory, in which there was no vast State-embracing sweep but a kind of sea-saw between the two armies, with a continued equilibrium of defeat and victory for each side. If the East-Northern army passed a certain line—we may call it a line of separation between the North and South—it met with a bloody repulse; the same repulse came to the East-Southern army, if it passed that same line, whose limits cannot be laid out exactly to the spot, but are none the less real.

Now it is this line of separation between the two sets of States and their armies, which is the most striking fact of the entire Virginia campaign. Washington cannot take Richmond and Richmond cannot take Washington, though but little more than a hundred miles apart. The same fate meets the one army getting to the

James and the other army getting to the Potomac. Or, more technically stated, if either army takes decidedly the offensive, it is driven back; if it remains on its side of that line of separation, it is victorious. Each wins on the defensive, but loses on the offensive. Such is the persistent fact of that Eastern struggle, though exceptions occur both ways.

We may regard Antietam and Gettysburg as bloody warnings to the Southern host; more numerous and more sanguinary are the warnings to the Northern host from Manassas, Fredericksburg and the Peninsular battles. Both hosts have transgressed, have sought to cross the forbidden line, for which act each gets a blow like that of Fate itself. But what prescribed that line? Who laid down this peculiar prohibition and for what reason? Some Power over both yet of both, we have to think; it uses these two hosts as means for its end, which, however, is also the supreme national end.

It is manifest that the Old-Thirteen are divided into two parts, Northern and Southern, and each is fighting the other with the greatest valor and endurance; yet neither can finally and fully get the better of the other. Neither can possess itself of that strange elusive line of separation; the South cannot conquer it and hold it and thus win Disunion by fixing this line, and the North cannot conquer it and hold it and thus

win Union by obliterating this line. Both sets of these States once made the Union, working together; one set, the Southern, wishes to withdraw; the other set, the Northern, seeks to prevent such withdrawal but has not succeeded.

The result is or must be that the East-Southern army, being really on the defensive, has made good the line of separation in the Old-Thirteen. This can only mean, if they alone are concerned, that the Union is dissolved. But such is not the case, for not in the old but in the new States lies the decision of the conflict.

X. Thirty-four States are members of the Union during the War, if we count the eleven which have seceded. Twenty-one of these are new or derived States, all of which are western except two. Thus a decided majority of the States are new and western. These children of the Union, according to the majority rule, must be its controlling element finally, and re-make it after their own highest principle, which is specially the work of the West-Northern Group of Free-States as already indicated.

At present, however, we wish to see the main sweep of the West-Northern army during the War. In the first place its military movement is an offensive one from beginning to end, in contrast with that of the East-Northern army, whose main act was a defensive one, that of defending Washington. The onward march of the

western soldiers continued practically to the close. Of course there were refluxes and regurgitations breaking through the ever-advancing line, like those of Bragg in 1862, and Hood in 1864, but they were temporary.

Repeatedly has this western military movement been designated as circular in its general contour, sweeping down the great valley to the South, then to the East, then to the North, and embracing both Tiers of the seceded States except Virginia. Such was indeed the positive act of the War. When the Confederacy was no more, ten of its States being held by the West-Northern army, Richmond could no longer be defended, and Lee surrendered, giving up the Capital when it was no longer a Capital. But this vast circular sweep is truly significant; it brings before us one mighty image of the whole War on its offensive and positive side, with the West-Northern host ever pushing forward and wheeling on the left, till it has picked up all the parts of the dismembered Union and holds them in its embrace.

The estimate has been made that fully one-half of those slain in the War, and of those who were wounded spilt their blood in the small area of Virginia soil. Here too was spent fully one-half of the cost of the whole conflict. Brave, patriotic, conscientious were these men, but the tragedy makes the nation shudder still.



That gory see-saw comes up before the imagination as a blood drinking monster placed between the two armies and demanding from both its quota with surprising regularity. What had those two sets of old States done that each became such an awful Nemesis to the other? But neither is able to put an end to its antagonist; when exhausted each takes breath for a time in order to recuperate, but new strength is only new food for the Furies, who seem always getting ready for a fresh carnival somewhere on that piece of insatiate earth between and around the two Capitals.

The other half of the grand outlay of blood and treasure must be assigned to the West-Northern army. Its opponent, the West-Southern army, though of unquestioned bravery, does not persistently impede its advance. Outside of soldierly qualities, which were quite the same in both armies, and outside of any superiority of numbers or material, the two causes in the West seemed unequal from the start—the one being inherently the stronger and advancing, the other inherently the weaker and retreating. This is in striking contrast with the equilibrium of the two armies in the East, and it would also seem, of the two causes. Here a couple of problems arise: first, why such a difference between East and West; secondly, why such a difference between the West-Northern and West-



Southern armies and also their causes? The last question we shall consider first.

The new Slave-States, the West-Southern Group, which had seceded, were also children of the Union. Now they are trying to slay their parent. Of the four Groups of States already mentioned, this Group alone is seeking to destroy the source of its being. Its act has accordingly a parricidal character. This cannot be charged upon the old Slave-States, the East-Southern Group, which have also seceded, for they are not the children of the Union, and their relation to it is different. Now let us turn our look to the West-Northern States, also children of the Union, which however, they are pouring out their heart's blood to save. Save from whom? From that other group of children who are seeking to destroy this same parent. Which of the two groups of children has the higher principle, from this point of view—the loyal or disloyal, the defenders or the assailants of the common parent? Such is one ground of difference between the two causes, and we cannot help thinking that it enters into the spirit of the two contending armies. Then another ground of difference: that West-Northern army is fighting for a Union which produces Free-States, while the West-Southern army is fighting for a Union which produces

Slave-States, this being the character of the Southern Confederacy and their own also.

In fact, the mentioned Group of new Slave-States in trying to undo the parent who brought them forth as Slaves-States, have become logically self-undoing. Also they are unconsciously avenging upon the Union its act of producing Slave-States. The irony of the World-Spirit, very frequently one of its subtlest weapons, not in the word but in the deed, is serving up to them a draught of their own conduct. For if they succeed in doing that which they are trying with all their might to do, namely, to slay the Union, they are destroying that which made them Slave-States, and it may be added, for making them Slave-States. Thus the Union also comes in to receive its stroke of retribution for bringing such children into existence, which children are transformed into its punishers, who in their turn are likewise to be punished. The vengeance which they wreak upon their parent, even if guilty, is itself to be avenged. They turn back upon and assail the source of their creation for creating them what they are. That is, the Union-produced Slave-States are smiting with all their might the Slave-State producing Union. And yet they proclaim and honestly think that they are fighting for a Union productive of Slave-States. Self-negative they are in their deepest spirit, and really are taking the

shortest road to destroy just what they are lavishly and devotedly pouring out their blood to save. It is this inner self-contradiction which lames their cause, the war within cannot help bringing defeat to the war without. No such self-contradiction is felt in the cause or in the soul of the West-Northern army which marches out not to destroy but to defend its parent Union, and also to perpetuate it as Free-State producing.

Pondering on these two very diverse parts of the two Groups of new States, Northern and Southern, in the colossal world-drama playing before us, we cannot help thinking of another world-drama of the literary sort, Shakespeare's *Lear*. In it likewise are the two groups of children, faithless and faithful to the parent, one group of whom, the faithless, brings back to him his tragic violation, which act is in return avenged by the faithful group, who thereby restore peace and harmony to the deeply disturbed institutional order. Of its ways we catch many a glimpse like the following:

I told him the revenging Gods  
'Gainst parricides did all their thunders bend.

XI. We have to keep peering back of this struggle of armies to see what it means, what is its propelling principle or Idea. Quite distinctly does this Idea have a voice during the

War. The People must hear it and thereby become aware of that for which they are spending their treasures of life and money; in other words they must get to know the decree of the World-Spirit, and be brought to support it with all their energy. Already we have emphasized the fact that Lincoln is supremely the voice of the World-Spirit to the People as well as the executor of its behests. He is the incarnation of the Idea of the Union (which is to be made over as producing Free-States only), while the military and naval forces show that Idea armed and realizing itself, the People furnishing the means in men, money, and also votes. In this way the inner process of the vast and intricate maze of events begins to manifest itself. Lincoln must be regarded as the vehicle of the World-Spirit, and he thus becomes the central figure of the War, keeping the People in touch with the supreme purpose of History, with what may also be called its Idea.

At the same time this Idea has to go through its various stages of development, it has to evolve both in Lincoln and in the People. Not of a sudden is the great work done, or even seen; it starts simply with preserving the Union, then moves forward to emancipation, then to reconstruction. Such was the inner process lurking in the events of the War, as well as in the soul of the People, but obtaining its most complete

utterance in the words of the Leader, whose supreme function was to harness the Nation to Civilization, and to keep it thus harnessed till its task be done.

Overwhelming is the mass of occurrences during these four years of military and political activity, if viewed externally. The interior lines of their movement must be brought to the surface and described if we are ever to escape from the chaos of historic details bubbling up synchronously and in succession over areas extending thousands of miles. Now as this whole War shows the Union re-united or re-won, we shall observe three chief periods in the process or three Winnings which may be designated in advance as follows:

I. The Winning of the unseceded Slave-States — old and new — which gives the first Period of the War (1861–2). The expressed end is the simple preservation of the Union as it was.

II. The Winning of the seceded Slave-States — new — which gives the Second Period of the War (1862–3). The expressed end is now the emancipation of the Union from its dual condition, half-slave and half-free.

III. The Winning of the seceded Slave-States — old — which gives the Third and final Period of the War (1864–5). The expressed end is the reconstruction of the Union, which is

a return to its birth as State-producing, and makes it reproduce each Slave-State, new and old, as free. Thereby appears or begins to appear the new Union formed of Free-States only.

These three Periods are not each of the same length of Time, nor are their limits fixed to a day. That upon which our thought should be centered is the process revealing itself in these stretches of Time, which is but its outermost garment, and which may be now a little longer and now a little shorter. It is evident that the cycle of the Ten Years' War completes itself by making the Union Free-State producing *completely*, by making it embrace not only the Future in the matter of Territories, but also the Past in the matter of States. In fact the Union itself is re-born; there is a return to its first birth, and a re-creating of it as creative.

Thus the round is finished and all the seceded States are re-won—an external restoration at first, which, however, is to be made internal with time. But we must also notice that in each of the mentioned Periods is found a similar process, which runs in this way: first the Idea of it will be stated generally by the President in address or message, at the seat of Government, and then formulated in law by Congress; second is the Idea armed in the military and naval powers, and thereby realizing itself; third is the Idea backed by the People who stick to their great task and



follow the words of Lincoln, answering his repeated calls for fresh troops and more money, as well as supporting him by their votes. Such is the process of the Idea of the Union directing each of the three designated Periods, of which it is the soul or formative energy. In such fashion we seek mentally to seize the whirl of Time's events, though moving with an enormously accelerated velocity, and throwing off in a year such a multitude of important actions, that they would ordinarily require a century for their happening.

## The Winning of the Unseceded Slave-States (Old and New) 1861-2.

The first great problem in 1861 was to hold in the Union the upper Tier of Slave-States after the two other Tiers had seceded. Maryland with little Delaware belonging to the old group, Kentucky and Missouri belonging to the new group of Slave-States, had in their borders considerable bodies of active secessionists who sought to join these Commonwealths to the Southern Confederacy. But a decided majority of the population in each of them was favorable to the Union. Still this majority had to be handled with great circumspection. Neutrality became for a short time the favorite policy in these states, especially in Kentucky. Thus a barrier would be interposed between the two combatants, Northern and Southern, and war might be averted. It soon became manifest, however, that such a policy meant the success of rebellion, since the seceded States would be protected by a wall of neutrals, and could not be co-erced. In Baltimore troops hurrying from the North to the defence of Washington were assailed and stopped for a while. In both Kentucky and Missouri, the Governors denounced Lincoln's

first call for volunteers, and refused compliance, but their opposition was unavailing. West Virginia would not accept the ordinance of Secession from Richmond, and began the making of itself over into a new State. Thus the gap was filled between Maryland and Kentucky, and the Tier of unseceded Slave-States reached in an uninterrupted line from the sea-board to Kansas.

We shall seek to outline the first Period in its process, which embraces the events from the beginning of the War, in 1861, till Autumn 1862. Thus we can catch a view of the first round of occurrences, in which is seen the fundamental process lurking in the vast diversity of happenings before us. Such is, indeed, the movement of the World-Spirit itself, or we may call it the Idea, the stages of whose process we shall put together as follows: (I) *The Idea formulated* by President or Congress usually; (II) *The Idea armed* by the naval and military Powers; (III) *The Idea realized*, being taken up and backed by the Nation. In each of the three mentioned Periods we shall find this same process repeating itself; and in each stage of this process we shall likewise find essentially the same movement.

I. *The Idea formulated.* We have to look to the center, to Washington, for the creative Idea or Thought which leads to the result. Lincoln in his Messages and Addresses sounds the keynote: the Primacy of the Union. This is the

doctrine which finally wins the Border States, at first balancing between the two opposing tendencies, and somewhat uncertain which way to go. Sparing their feelings, Lincoln keeps in the background the slavery question till they are ready to meet it. He will at the start restore the Union, the old Union as double, with its States both slave and free. He does not take back his doctrine of stopping the extension of slavery to the territories, but he does not dwell on it in the presence of a more pressing question. His first work is to lead these doubting States away from the Primacy of the Single-State to the Primacy of the Union. In this his success is emphatic.

To be sure, they cannot stop long at such a point; the Union cannot remain half-slave and half-free. The State-producing Union has been productive of both sorts of States hitherto, but just this is what cannot continue. The contradiction must work itself out to the surface and be eliminated. How can a Union half-slave and half-free produce wholly free States? For a time it may do so, but not permanently, according to Lincoln's most famous utterance. At present, however, the Border Slave-States can be brought to take this first step of maintaining "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was," which is quite a stride for them.

So it comes that the third or upper Tier of Slave-States remains in the Union, the wave of

Secession breaking in vain against it. Three sorts of States are included in it. (*a*) Two of the Original Thirteen which helped make the Union, remain faithful — Delaware and Maryland. (*b*) Two of the Derived Slave-States, Kentucky and Missouri, refuse to go out with the other seven of their sort. (*c*) One State of this Tier (West Virginia) is peculiar, it may in a sense be considered both original and derived. It was a part of old Virginia, and hence assisted at the birth of the Union and Constitution; yet it becomes a new or derived State, the child of the Union and Constitution. It is born anew, being made over from a seceded into an unseceded Slave-State, which, however, is in time to free itself of slavery. Thus it has within itself the process which forecasts the Union as Free-State producing universally, enfranchising not only the Territories, but the Slave-States themselves, new and old. West Virginia from this point of view may be said to reveal the widest sweep of the War, the transformation of the Original Thirteen into the new order, and specially of the old Slave-State into the new Free-State. The act is probably outside of the Constitution, which thus is made to go back to the start and re-make not only itself but its makers — the States which made it.

II. *The Idea armed.* This is the element of manifestation in the War, its colossal spectacular

element, its thought realizing itself in action over the vast area from the Atlantic to the Rockies. It is that part upon which History dwells and dilates with a peculiar fondness, picturing the deeds of armies and of individuals in all their diversities and fluctuations. The central Idea now rays itself out into a multiplicity of events in which the mind gets lost unless it be continually brought back from their mazes to their genetic clew.

In the briefest manner we shall seek to designate the indwelling process of the armed conflicts of the War. These take place on sea and land; the Idea is equipped with two kinds of weapons, military and naval. The military is by far the largest and most important branch of the nation's service, the most impressive display of the People's Will to defend and preserve their Union. So we shall divide the army into two parts, the Eastern and Western, each of which has its own special task, and also unfolds its own peculiar character. The one (Eastern) is essentially defensive, while the other (Western) is essentially offensive; the navy is essentially preventive. Yet each can and does at times play the part of either of the other two. We shall begin with the work of the navy.

(a). As the South had almost no ships and not many sailors, there could be little offensive or defensive warfare of the naval sort. The



chief duty of the navy was, accordingly, of a *preventive* nature, that of blockading Southern ports and harbors. Ships could keep the outside world from supplying the wants of the States in rebellion, which had little diversification of industry, and badly needed munitions of war.

In this early period of the struggle may be placed two famous events in which the navy took the offensive. On March 8th, 1862, the Confederate iron-clad Merrimac steaming into Hampton Roads disabled and destroyed the blockading ships. The next day the Monitor, also iron-clad, appeared on the Federal side, and succeeded in putting an end to the career of the Merrimac. On the closing days of April, Flag-officer Farragut captured New Orleans, the chief seaport and largest city in the South. Both these events had a strong deterring influence upon those nations of Europe which were previously inclined to break the blockade and recognize the Southern confederacy.

(b). Of the two great military movements, the *defensive* one around and between the capitals comes next in order. As soon as Washington was reasonably secure, there arose in the North the cry: Forward to Richmond. Leading newspapers, especially the *New York Tribune*, became very importunate. The result was the first battle of Bull Run, in which the Northern army

fled from the field in a panic, back to the defenses of Washington, July 21st. This was the first important battle in the East, and was a typical one prefiguring all which were to follow. The Capital was successfully defended; but when that East-Northern army passed from the defensive to the offensive, it was defeated. It went beyond the line of separation between North and South at Bull Run and received its first penalty, repeated again and again till the close of the war.

In this same battle appears for the first time the employment of the Shenandoah Valley for a strategic purpose. A line of mountains cuts off this valley from Eastern Virginia whose area stretches between the two Capitals. Thus the Southerners had a flanking machine created by Nature herself, which they used with astonishing success till the last months of the War, when it was completely broken up by Sheridan and turned against Richmond, somewhat as it had been turned against Washington. General J. E. Johnston works this strategic machine at present, and by means of it changes the tide of battle at Bull Run. But the name and fame of Stonewall Jackson are chiefly associated with its employment. Its dexterous manipulation had the power of throwing the Federal army back upon the defensive from its offensive operations against Richmond.

And now let us skip a little more than a year

till August 30th 1862, on which day the second battle of Bull Run is fought. McClellan has taken the offensive and has wound up his Peninsular campaign; the Seven Days Battle has been fought, he has retreated to Harrison's Landing under the protection of gunboats. His attempt on Richmond has failed and he has been thrown back on the defensive. But the worst failure is himself, and his army is withdrawn from the James to the Potomac. General Pope has command in front and is badly defeated by Lee. Thus is repeated the same result as in the first battle of Bull Run. The East-Northern army taking the offensive is overwhelmed on every side by a smaller army, and driven back to the defences of Washington.

Moreover, that same strategic machine is put to work again with marvelous success. Already in early May Jackson is rushing down the Shenandoah Valley gathering supplies, defeating Federal troops, frightening Washington and keeping re-inforcements from McClellan. Then he hurries back toward Richmond and takes part in the Seven Days' Battle (June 25th to July 1st). The siege being raised by McClellan's retreat and the recall of his army, the Confederates start toward the Potomac with Lee at their head, who hurls back his antagonist over that peculiar line of separation between the North and

South so emphatically marked already at the first battle of Bull Run.

But now rises for the first time the like problem on the Confederate side. If Lee takes the offensive and transgresses that same line of separation, will he receive impartially the blow of Nemesis in his turn? We shall watch. He crosses the Potomac, invades Maryland and proposes to sweep still further northward, when he is met at South Mountain and Antietam by the Federals. The result is Lee's army defeated recrosses the Potomac and after some delay is found in position behind the Rappahannock. So the East-Southern army has had its experience of failure under its greatest general, who has dared take the offensive and go beyond the fated line which divides Union and Secession. Is it not plain, as far as these two armies are concerned, that neither can conquer the other, that the Union if it be won at all, must be won on other fields? The same lesson is enforced anew in December of this year by the battle of Fredericksburg in which the Federals, taking again the offensive, are bloodily repulsed by Lee.

Such is the sanguinary see-saw between these two armies, during what we may deem the first Period of the Great War, lying in the main between the first Bull Run and Antietam, and revealing the military type of the whole struggle in the East, which we shall see repeating itself

again and again in the form of this terrible pendulum of the Gods oscillating victory and defeat impartially to both sides.

(c). We now pass to the West-Northern army whose military character is to take *the offensive* against its antagonist. First a battle line was secured, somewhat irregular to be sure, extending from West Virginia along the Ohio river through Missouri to Kansas. In the latter part of 1861 this battle line began to move southwards, and soon met the corresponding battle line of the enemy. The opening victory was won at Mill Spring in Eastern Kentucky, (Jan. 19, 1862), by General Thomas. The fall of Fort Henry on the Tennessee followed (Feb. 6th); then the surrender at Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, (Feb. 16th), one of the great victories of the war. The line, like a long radius reaching out from the center at Washington, moved rapidly into the State of Tennessee, which the Confederates abandoned, taking up a position at Corinth, Mississippi, from which point they advanced and fought with the Federals the indecisive battle of Shiloh (April 6-7). A chief obstruction in the Mississippi river was removed by the capture of Island No. 10, with several thousand prisoners (April 7th, second day of Shiloh). Through the taking of New Orleans in the last days of this April, the great river might have been opened all the way to the sea,



as Vicksburg had not yet been fortified. But then comes delay, of which Halleck bears the chief blame, so that another year of fierce conflict passed before the Mississippi is cleared of all hindrance to its navigation. In this campaign the character of the leading General (Grant) on the side of the Union showed itself; also two other great commanders at this time manifested their military ability—Sherman and Thomas.

A resurgence of the Confederates takes place, breaking over and around the advanced line of the Federals, and swelling up into Kentucky, almost reaches Louisville and Cincinnati. But it is met and the West-Southern army returns substantially within its old line. This resurgence takes place along the whole battle-line of the War East and West. In September, 1862, the Confederates have overrun central Kentucky quite to the Ohio River, and Lee has crossed into Maryland. This month Confederate fortune touches its highest point during the War. Only in Grant's line is there no serious break, though two vigorous attempts are made by the enemy (at Iuka Sept. 19th and at Corinth Oct. 3).

Thus at the end of this Period of the War the military situation has declared itself in the East and West. In both sections the strong Confederate resurgence of 1862 is met and pushed back to its old limits essentially. But there is also a decided difference between the two sections. In



the East each side is arrayed on the same old battle-line of separation, with nothing won by the North; in the West the new battle-line is kept, with all the gained territory behind it, which includes a large part of the seceded Slave-States, Tennessee and Arkansas, as well as the whole of the unseceded Slave-States, Kentucky and Missouri. This we shall see to be not an accident, but typical of what is to come. The outline of the military movement of the entire War is distinctly foredrawn in this first general movement.

III. *The Idea realized by the Nation.* We must not leave out of the historic process of the time that the War in all its great demands was maintained by the People. In fact the Folk-Soul made itself felt not only at the seat of Government but also in the armies, since there was a continuous interflow between the soldier and his family at home. Nearly every Northerner in the ranks could write, and of course did not fail to give the echo of his part of the army about commanders, politics, and things in general. This epistolary stream between the front and home was very influential, even if not on the surface. It often reached and revealed the heart of the situation better than the newspapers, which were inclined to have their favorites, military as well as political. The correspondents of the Press were for the most part at

the headquarters of the General, and usually gave his version or at least his coloring to events, which was not always that of the soldiers.

The People of the North in spite of reverses and discouragements, stood as a whole loyally by Lincoln. The demands made upon them were certainly great—they furnished the blood, the money and the will.

(a). *Men* were called for in great numbers to offer their lives for the Union. They could only come from the People, who had to make and did make this living sacrifice willingly for the cause. By the hundreds of thousands they were required and appeared.

(b). *Money*, which stands for the toil and industry of the People, was needed in vast quantities, and was always forthcoming. Bonds were issued and disposed of at home and abroad; legal Tender was issued, a national necessity even if an economic folly.

(c). *The People's Will*, expressed at the ballot box, supported the measures of the Government. Herein was shown the unique, transcendent power of Lincoln. He never appealed to the Folk-Soul in vain, though its response varied in volume during the four years of War. The one Will of the President was backed by the National Will in spite of his mistakes. So the People gave him unstintedly what he wanted for attain-

ing his end, since that was their end as well as that of Civilization.

Such is, then, the round here manifesting itself continually: the People's Will returns and interlinks, as it were, with that of the President, who in his turn directs the mighty forces, the army and the navy, into fulfilling the purpose of the World-Spirit, and then comes back to the original fountain of his authority, the People, for approval and renewed support.

## The Winning of the Seceded Slave States (New) 1862-3.

Already in the previous Period the West-Northern army had obtained a secure footing in Tennessee and Arkansas as well as in Louisiana, all of them new or derived Slave-States which had seceded from the Union. Seven of these States had gone out, and now the whole seven are to be overrun during the present Period, which we fix as the second of the War, including Vicksburg and Gettysburg as its central military events. They foreshadow the end of the struggle and seem the mighty response to Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation, as well as its confirmation. Undoubtedly these seven new Slave-States, as children of the Union which they are trying to slay, have in them that parricidal strain already mentioned which provokes the tragic blow from "the revenging Gods" more speedily than the act of secession of the old Slave-States. They are the first of the revolted Commonwealths to be subdued.

Lincoln and with him the War and the People move out of the preceding stage and take a great step forward. The attempt is still to preserve the Union, but not exactly as it was; it is hence-

forth to be an emancipated Union, having freed itself of slavery. It is getting to be productive of Free States not merely out of territories, but out of Slave-States new and old. Its dualism is beginning to disappear, and it promises soon to be no longer half-slave or half-free.

I. *The Idea formulated.* The central Idea of the present period of the War is now generally recognized to be that of Emancipation, which found its decisive expression in the proclamation of January 1st, 1863. This may well be deemed to be the culminating act of Lincoln as voice not only of the Nation but of the World-Spirit. It expresses the doom of slavery in the United States, on the Western Continent, on the Globe. Europe and America will extirpate it from those countries of Asia in which it still has a foothold. The great world-historical act of Lincoln was this Proclamation.

It was not a sudden thought, but one of slow growth. He knew from the start that the War, if continued, would destroy slavery. But the People as a whole had to unfold till they were ready to take the step with him. Here again we see Lincoln as mediator between the Folk-Soul and the World-Spirit.

On June 22d, 1862, he declared his purpose to his cabinet and read his first draft. As it was a time of depression in the North, of defeat for the Union armies, Seward, though believing in

it, urged him to wait for a victory before he sent it forth. Lincoln acceded to this view, and after the battle of Antietam he published his preliminary warning to the States in rebellion that he would free their slaves unless they returned to their allegiance by January 1st, 1863. They did not return, of course, so on that day the Proclamation went forth. He says that his paramount object was to save the Union, not to save nor to destroy slavery; that the proclamation was a war-measure to which he had been forced to resort; that it was not the end but a means to the end.

II. *The Idea armed.* It may be said that the Idea of the War is now definitely uttered; the Union is Free-State producing universally. The Proclamation proposes to transform the Slave-State into the Free-State, and thus voices the decree of the World-Spirit. The result is that the Idea now gets armed and fairly to work; hence in this period take place the decisive victories of the War, and the turning-point toward the victorious outcome can be marked almost to a day (July 4th, 1863, bringing the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg).

(a). The navy is doing more and more effectually its *preventive* task in keeping foreign supplies from the Confederacy, which thus revealed the weakness of the former Southern policy.

If the South had possessed a fair degree of



economic independence, it would have had a much better chance of winning political independence. But it had confined itself almost wholly to agriculture, and to a few staples of agriculture, cotton, sugar, rice. The Gulf States had been largely fed from the North, and were possessed of no manufacturing works. The missing food it could supply, but not the missing mechanical industries. Yet the South in the beginning thought that it dominated the whole economic world of Europe and America through its cotton. The navy in this period has brought home to the Southern States the shortsightedness of their economic system.

(*b*). The military movement of this Period is still essentially defensive in the East, and brings out the former see-saw repeating its bloody work. The attempts of Burnside at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13th, 1862, and of Hooker at Chancellorsville, May 1st to 4th, 1863, show the East-Northern army taking the offensive, and overwhelmingly repulsed. Again they sought to cross that invisible line drawn between the North and South of the Old-Thirteen, and received a blow more severe than ever before. The warning written in the blood of thousands seems to rise from that line of separation and speak in a kind of wrath the decree from above.

It is now the turn for the East-Southern Army to try its fortune by crossing that same

fateful line. Will Lee take the offensive again and invade the North? And if he does will he meet that same blow so impartially delivered by Nemesis to either when it transgresses the prohibited line? Let us see. In about a month after Chancellorsville Lee starts his army, sending into the Shenandoah Valley to work the strategic machine the corps of General Ewell, as Stonewall Jackson had been killed. Toward the end of June Lee's whole army crossed the Potomac into Maryland and Pennsylvania. In this last State was fought the battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3), the result of which was a repulse for Lee, and a retreat back into Virginia. Again he is allowed to take substantially his old position in front of the Federals.

Thus is re-enacted the same general movement which we have already seen repeatedly in the East. Neither army there can conquer the other; more and more emphatic has become the line of separation dividing the Union, at least as far as the Old-Thirteen are concerned.

(c.) For relief we again have to look at the West-Northern army which still is keeping up its name of taking the offensive against the enemy with success. It moves forward under Grant and captures Vicksburg, thereby opening the Mississippi, since Port Hudson falls with Vicksburg. Thus the Confederacy is cut in two, and the

western line of battle is ready to sweep eastward around its circle.

The time and the situation compel a comparison between Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Primarily the one on part of the North is a defensive act in general and in particular; the other is an offensive act in general and in particular. In the one case the North is invaded and an unseceded Free-State is the battle-ground; in the other the South is invaded and a seceded Slave-State is the battle ground. Gettysburg says that Secession cannot conquer the North, but Vicksburg says that the North can conquer Secession. The one is at best a negative act, hindering another deeply negative act but not destroying its doer and thereby preventing repetition; the other is a positive act, tackling Secession in its home and undoing its power.

The present Period includes another offensive movement of the West-Northern army, which wheels on its pivot and sweeps to Chattanooga, where is the gateway to the Southern States of the Old Thirteen. Grant reached there Oct. 23, 1863. The battle of Missionary Ridge (Nov. 25th) ended in the total defeat of the Confederates, who had now lost substantially all of the new (or derived) Slave-States which went into Secession. It is worthy of notice that the four greatest generals whom the North produced during the war, participated in this series of battles

around Chattanooga. They were Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and also Sheridan, who was in command of a division.

III. *The Idea realized by the Nation.* Here we must again take note of the People, that original protoplasm out of which everything in this War and every War is to be formed. First of all the men to do the fighting were furnished, on the whole with readiness, though with opposition in localities. Money too was forthcoming, yet the financial burden was very heavy, and the fluctuations in the price of gold followed the ups and downs of the army. The most peculiar fact of the economic situation is that property advances, trade flourishes, and even population increases in the North along with the enormous expenditures of blood and treasure. The Secretary of War makes a strong point in his annual report which speaks of our former dependence on foreign nations for arms and munitions, whereas "now (1863-4) all these things are manufactured at home and we are independent of foreign nations not only for the manufactures, but also for the materials of which they are composed." Thus the War is having a new and unexpected effect upon the North, making it self-sufficing in the matter of supplying its own wants, and endowing it with economic independence.

The fullest and most pointed account which Lincoln renders to the People in regard to his

stewardship, is contained in his letter to a mass meeting of his friends at his home in Springfield. The letter is dated August 26th, 1863. He convincingly shows that only two kinds of peace are possible, with or without Union. There is no compromise or middle way; the peace party is pursuing a delusion, since the South is fighting for absolute separation. Lincoln also defends his Proclamation as a war measure and buttresses it with some facts, declaring that it cannot be retracted. "For the great republic, for the principle which it lives by and keeps alive — for man's vast future — thanks to all" who have been willing to give their efforts, and their lives if need be, to bring about the grand result. To such an appeal with its keen-edged logic which at times breaks over into lofty poetic utterance, the response of the people was immediate and overwhelming. Of this the most significant instance was the defeat of Vallandigham in Ohio for Governor by a majority of more than a hundred thousand. Still there were unjustifiable things done in this Period by some military commanders, such as suppression of newspapers, arbitrary arrests for free speech, and suspension of *Habeas Corpus* where there was no need of it. Few if any of these acts can be traced directly to Lincoln, who, however, felt that he had to support his subordinates, particularly in cases

in which it seemed more necessary to uphold authority than to correct a mistake.

In such fashion we mark off the second Period of the War with its process, in which the new or derived Slave-States which went into Secession, are brought back into the Union by power, not being permitted to stay out both for their own sake and for the sake of the grand totality of States, North and South. Moreover this idea of an emancipated Union has been voiced by the President, made victorious by arms and adopted by the People. A great stride, not only of the Nation, but of the World's History, we think; with high hope we can turn to the final act.



## The Winning of the Seceded Slave-States (Old) 1864-5.

The last great sweep of the War, the third Period of it, as we look at it, has been reached. General Sherman has said that the War professionally began after Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and that military science was then for the first time applied in a thorough manner. Undoubtedly the years had furnished their experience, and the conduct of battles and campaigns was more scientific. Still the fact persists that this last Period has substantially the same process underlying it as the two Periods already considered, the same fluctuations of defeat and victory, the same military character of the movements in the East and in the West, with the same general results. The East-Northern army fights again over that bloody area between the two capitals, and makes it more bloody than ever; the line of separation is drawn afresh with an emphasis which seems final. The West-Northern army in its turn starts on its customary offensive career, but in another sort of territory. Hitherto it has been confined to the new or derived Slave-States which have seceded. But now it breaks over

into a different field of rebellion, into the old Slave-States which seceded, but which have not yet felt the presence of actual war at their doors. This must be the last act of the great drama. That circular movement, which, starting from the North-West, has swept victoriously down the Mississippi and then eastward to Chattanooga, is about to enter upon its last curve, which irregularly cuts through Georgia, South Carolina into North Carolina, when the war closes.

Following in the track of the West-Northern army is a new stage of the political development of the War: Reconstruction. If the second Period gave us an emancipated Union, the present third Period is to start into existence a reconstructed Union. This also is the work of Lincoln. Emancipation having become a fact, the slower and more difficult task of restoring these seceded States to the new Union is to follow. Thus the political process involved in the War will have completed itself. We recollect that the first stage was the preservation of the Union, the second was its emancipation, the third is now to be its regeneration and restoration, usually called its reconstruction. This last work, however, Lincoln will not live to finish, though he makes a good beginning.

We shall now for the third and last time outline that process which we have found determining the entire conflict.

I. *The Idea Formulated.* More and more Lincoln becomes the voice of the Period. He is nominated a second time for the Presidency and is elected triumphantly by the People. His thought is now specially to bring the Slave-States back into the Union, emancipated and reconstructed. He urges unseceded Slave-States to make movements toward the abolition of slavery. Then he seeks in every way to cause the adoption of the Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery—the Thirteenth Amendment.

In this part of his work we see him trying to evoke the State-making instinct of the Southern People who are to build anew the local governments in the seceded States occupied by the Federal army. Particularly in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee he endeavors to bring the citizens to undo the work of Secession. He is careful not to dictate, he distinctly declines to re-make the State governments by an autocratic exercise of power. To be sure one condition is put upon them: the abolition of slavery. Thus even the Slave-State is transformed, is brought first to make itself free, and thus becomes Free-State producing. This is the essence of Lincoln's Reconstruction: these Slave-States, hitherto in rebellion, must show themselves in their own case productive of the Free-State; then they can come back and live harmoniously in the new Union which is Free-State producing *only*. It

is Reconstruction, therefore, which is to bring about that inner homogeneity of the Union, which removes the original ground of separation.

At this point, however, Lincoln encountered opposition in his own party. Sumner in particular insisted upon unlimited negro suffrage as a condition of restoring the seceded States to their place in the Union. Lincoln became afraid of Congress, of its radicals, who really sought to destroy the South's Statehood, which he would "reanimate," and whose governments he would "get in successful operation before Congress comes together in December." Says he as reported by Welles: "There is too much of a desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters"—the grand fatality of the South, for which indeed it has received the penalty. Now the love of domination is getting hold of the North in spite of Lincoln, who sees the danger of his own party acquiring that same spirit of arrogance so fateful to the South, and of falling into the same transgression in turn, with the consequent punishment.

So Lincoln has begun to formulate the Idea of Reconstruction, and to bring it before the People in spite of Congressional opposition. There is little doubt that he would have again won the Folk-Soul to his plan, if had lived to develop it fully and to carry it out. Indeed the probability is that he would have gained the best

of the Southern leaders for his work, and have spared the Nation the painful period of Congressional Reconstruction after the war. Still his Idea despite some years of obstruction wrought itself out to completeness, and made the Slave-State not only a Free-State but also Free-State producing, as a member of the Union.

II. *The Idea armed.* This still shows the same general process as before, having the same three implements, which we have named the preventive, the defensive, and the offensive.

(a). The task of prevention has already been described as allotted to the navy, and its work lies on the watery element. During this Period however, it takes the offensive also and captures the defences of Mobile as its chief prize. The blockade was always getting more effective.

The gun-boats of the western rivers were closely connected with the military department, co-operating chiefly with the armies in the field. Thus they rendered the greatest service in opening the Mississippi and its affluents and keeping them open. Also they took an important part in the battles fought on the banks of navigable streams, as at Donelson, Shiloh, and many other places.

(b). Now we are to witness a new phase in the career of the East-Northern army. General Grant, the successful commander in the West, is to try his hand on that uncanny piece of Vir-

ginia soil, which has been so deadly to supreme chieftains as well as common soldiers. The past compels the query: Will he be able to change that which has hitherto seemed the pre-destined course of things? Can he bring that East-Northern army to take the offensive without getting the furious back-stroke already so often delivered?

Let us see. Grant crosses the Rapidan and on May 5th begins the battle of the Wilderness. What can it be called but a sanguinary defeat? Still Grant hammers away at the very walls of Fate, and on May 11th sends his famous dispatch back to Washington: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." He seems to have become conscious of that line of separation in the East which he thinks he can cross as he did in the West. So he still keeps hammering away at the line for three weeks longer, when the last attack is made at Cold Harbor with appalling bloodshed. The command is given for another assault, but the soldiers refuse to stir, and General Grant has found a limit which he never touched before, and which he seemed to think did not exist. He loses during the campaign more men than Lee had at the start, and neither destroys Lee's army nor captures Richmond. It must be pronounced the greatest failure of the war, and from it Grant's military reputation has never recovered. He



moves south of the James and takes up the same general position which McClellan reached in 1862. Thus the commander who does not fight and the commander who fights reach the same point locally, and the line of separation in the East is drawn more emphatically than ever. Even Grant the bull-dog has to let go, in spite of his resolution "to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The bloody see-saw has repeated itself, only far bloodier than ever before.

To complete the correspondence with the two former Periods, the strategic machine of the Shenandoah Valley is again set to work by the Confederates. General Early with his army arrived at Winchester, July 2d; thence he crossed into Maryland, putting to flight opposing forces. Washington had its usual scare along with Baltimore and Harrisburg. But somehow again that old fatality smites the invaders in their turn, they have transgressed the limit and seem strangely paralyzed. Fully 20,000 Confederate veterans under Early and Breckinridge had the choice of the Capital or Baltimore, and, like the ass of Buridan, could not take either. Meantime Federal troops began pouring into Washington from the South, and the enemy retreated into Virginia. The same epithet can be applied to both sides in the affair: Utter incompetency. But now comes the supreme act of Grant in his Eastern career;

he sends Sheridan, whom he had called from the West to the command of the cavalry in the Army of the Potomac, to take charge of the Shenandoah Valley. This officer, after defeating Early in several pitched battles, will smash to smithereens the strategic machine, doing as the last act what ought to have been done first. He will even use the valley as a means of approach toward Richmond, after having been employed so long just the other way.

For the present, then, we shall again have to turn away from the two opposing armies of the East, Northern and Southern, with that invisible line of separation drawn between them as impassible as ever.

(c). In the spring of 1864 the West-Northern army is starting on a campaign against the old Slave-States which have seceded. It enters the upper part of Georgia, and moves victoriously along a line of battles to Atlanta, which it captures (Sept. 2nd). Soon it divides; one part of it under Thomas remains behind to look after the Confederates under Hood; the other part under Sherman starts November 12th for Savannah, and reaches this city December 10th. Thomas wins the battle of Nashville (December 15-16), routing Hood's army and pursuing its fragments into the far South. This has been declared the best-fought battle of the War, and the fame of Thomas has steadily increased since it took place.

The result is that in all the new seceded Slave-States there is no army capable of taking the field against the Federals.

The other grand division of the West-Northern army under Sherman, fulfilling its function of bringing the War home to the old seceded Slave-States, starts from Savannah and plunges into South Carolina, regarded as the home of Secession. There is no doubt that a feeling of retaliation was perceptible in that army. Charleston was burnt, catching fire from the blazing cotton which the Confederates were destroying. Columbia was also burnt; by whose hands the conflagration was kindled is a question still under dispute. Drunken negroes, Sherman's bummers, Wheeler's cavalymen, who also are known to have done some plundering, have all been blamed. One thing is certain: the Furies from all sides, not excepting the Southern, seem to be lighting down on South Carolina, and flaying her in vengeful wrath. Sherman in South Carolina is the most impressive object-lesson of the War. A mighty irresistible mass is let loose upon the whole State with no appreciable power of resistance. The South itself could hardly help recognizing the return of the deed, and seeing the shot at Sumter shot back thousandfold over the State. All society seems dissolving, Nemesis is in control and appears bent on wreaking retribution, the cycle of human action

insists on rounding itself out to the full. What did South Carolina herself think at this awful apparition? She could hardly help going back four years and interlinking in one chain first and last. But let this fact be added: she was by no means destroyed, but rather helped by the visitation; her population has doubled since then, and her wealth much more than doubled. The war's vengeance upon her was really what saved her, destroying her destroyer, of course against her will.

Thus the West-Northern Army has completed its circular sweep and has practically assailed Richmond from the rear, rendering further help impossible, and taking away the sustenance from Lee's soldiers. Its offensive career has brought it quite to the Capital of the Confederacy, which now falls before the Army of the Potomac. That fateful line of separation from which it has been so often driven back, is now obliterated, and is crossed for the first time by it in the last great battle of the War. So our defensive army has finally become offensive and is crowned with success; from this point of view it has gotten a new character corresponding with that of the West-Northern host now near at hand.

As Sherman's army moved into North Carolina there was in it a perceptible change of feeling, since that State belonged to the second Tier of seceded States, and was almost forced out of

the Union by the conduct of Virginia. But the great fact is that the West-Northern army in its various branches has marched through and holds in its power ten of the eleven seceded States, narrowing the rebellion mainly to a part of Virginia. Then Sherman is stopped in his advance northward toward Richmond and goes to City Point for a conference with Grant and Lincoln (March 27-8). "One more hard battle will have to be fought," is the opinion of both generals. The silent Grant is resolved to fight that battle with the army of the Potomac. Two days after Sheridan is at Five Forks and in ten days occurs the surrender at Appomattox. Nine days later, General Johnston, following Lee's example, surrenders to Sherman in North Carolina.

III. *The Idea realized by the Nation.* The supreme manifestation of the People's approval of Lincoln and his work took place on that November day when he was re-elected President of United States by an overwhelming majority. In the most unequivocal manner the Folk-Soul put its seal upon what he had done and upon his character. Of this indeed he was well aware. Says he in his message, Dec. 6th, 1864: "The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through popular elections." The Will of the People expressed by the ballot had indeed adopted his acts as their own, and he felt that to be the true harmony of his life. Well



could he declare that the purpose of the People within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union was never more firm or more nearly unanimous than now, after nearly four years of fighting. Lincoln also noted that there were more votes cast in 1864 than in 1860 in spite of the great drain of the War. "We have more men now than we had when the War began; we are not exhausted nor in the process of exhaustion." Moreover the public debt, though great, "is held for the most part by our own people," and should be as nearly as possible distributed among all. "Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves." At the same time the President re-affirms that "I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation."

At a serenade Lincoln dwelt upon the deeper side of the recent election, which he looked upon as the hardest test of free institutions. "It has demonstrated that a People's Government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known that this was a possibility." Hitherto civil war has called out the strong hand of the military dictator who has suppressed liberty. But a new event has been enrolled on the pages of the World's History: the free exercise of popular suffrage in the heat of internecine strife. It is probable that somebody had suggested to Lincoln



to put off the election till a time of peace, but he answers, "if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us"—which seems to carry in it an admonition to some headstrong military men. There is no doubt that Lincoln was keenly alive to the danger-signal erected by History, ancient and modern, and pointing warningly at the great and successful general. But in his conception the supreme act of a free Government was that the People should by their ballots stamp the ruler's Will as their own. Lincoln lived in and through and for the Folk-Soul, without whose confirmation and sympathy he could not think of exercising power.

Thus Lincoln felt and saw the Idea of the Age, the Decree of the World-Spirit, saw it realized by the Nation, having been himself the chief instrument of such realization. On this height we behold him a few months before his death viewing the Promised Land to which he had led his People, but which he is destined not to enter. Still the cycle of his career is complete. That prophecy of his, striking so clearly and profoundly the key-note of his whole public life and of the age, has been fulfilled: "I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

## Retrospect.

There can be no true conception of History unless its movement in Periods is seen, and not only seen, but made an integral part of our thought, nay of our very Self-hood. Events are not and cannot be understood till they are beheld unfolding in harmony with the law of our own consciousness. Historiography leaves much to be desired, if it is satisfied simply with recording events successively in Time, or throwing them together into external divisions usually called chapters. Rightly to periodize History is the profoundest task of the historian. He is to bring out the one supreme process of his total theme, and interlink with it all the lesser processes, which not only compose it, but reflect it in the small and smallest. We shall accordingly, in this our final retrospective act, look back at the periodicity which runs through the whole work, and orders the occurrences of the time into one great totality as well as into its many subdivisions.

It may be said that in this way the man of thought, contemplating the outer events of an epoch, enters into and communes with the Genius of History, with that Spirit which we have

often sought to glimpse in the foregoing account, and which has been repeatedly called the World-Spirit, into whose workshop (so to speak) we have now and then peeped for the purpose of limning some feature of that grand Artificer who manifests himself in the historic acts of States and of their Great Men.

1. With the surrender of the Confederates under Lee and Johnston in the spring of 1865, armed resistance to the restoration of the Union has substantially ceased, and the Idea of the North, enforced by the naval and military powers, and wrestling so long and so desperately with its foe, has triumphed and proceeds to its full realization. So the Period of national War lasting four years comes to a close.

The movement of this Period must be seen to be toward Re-union, out of the preceding Period of Dis-union, in which the trend was toward a dissolution of the federation of States (1858-61). Thus the nature of the whole time is the getting back, even by force at first, to that from which there has been a separation. We behold, accordingly, a return to what had before existed, namely, the Union, which however, must be a new Union, having taken up into itself and overcome its own deeply separative character.

2. We have, therefore, to emphasize that the Great War looked at by itself, is but a part or stage of a still larger process, which it indeed

completes. This is the Ten Years' War, which began on the plains of Kansas in 1855 with the first invasion of the Missourians for the purpose of making the adjacent Territory a Slave-State. To such a purpose there is a strong and obstinate resistance on the part of the settlers, and we behold the first part or stage of the conflict which is destined to last a decade.

Moreover we now hear the thought or the theme of the whole Ten Years' War distinctly enounced in its simplest form: There shall be no more Slave-States. To be sure the hardy Kansans fought to keep their own Territory from the clutch of slavery, they had enough to do without thinking much about the future of other Territories. But the North, not being engaged directly in the struggle and having the opportunity to think the matter over, came to the conclusion that Congress can and should exclude slavery from the public domain of the United States (expressed in the vote for Fremont, 1856). Thus the popular consciousness of the North begins to reach the conviction that the Union must henceforth be productive of Free-States only. The Slave-States already existent can remain as they are and develop as they may; but hereafter their reproduction must cease in our Union.

The mentioned exception also will in time be shorn away, and the Government, in its su-

preme genetic act supported by armies, will transform the already existent Slave-States, making them free, and thus apply its new principle to the past as well as to the future. The theorem or formula of the whole Ten Years' War now comes to light in its fullness and may be stated as follows: The Union is to be made Free-State producing *universally*. In its deepest act, which is the genesis of States, such it will be; of course it will do other important things also. When such a Union is fairly established, the Ten Years' War, having fulfilled its mission and completed its cycle, comes to a close. It has its own periodic character taken by itself, as a whole; but it also reveals subordinate Periods, each of which is a part or stage of the grand total, yet has also its own special process. That is, the Ten Years' War has its own unique sweep and meaning; but it is divided, or we may say, divides itself into the stages which are designated as the *Border War* in the Union (1) which small war has the power of unfolding and manifesting the *Union Disunited* (2), out of which is the movement in the Great War to the *Union Reunited* (3), and also transformed. Yet each of these divisions or stages has its own process, and therein not only mirrors the whole of which it is a part, but interlinks with the same in the one general process.

3. Nor should we forget the thought in this



connection that the sweep of the Ten Years' War is but a stage or part of a still greater movement, that of the Federal Union from its beginning till the present. Being in Time it has a before and after. And the entire development of the Federal Union is itself but a portion of a greater historic totality. Thus we may, or indeed must, go on widening our view till we reach the conception of Universal History, whose essential process is to be present in all its parts even the minutest, otherwise they could not be parts of it. Ultimately History as a whole or as universal must be seen creating each of its stages or epochs or events; and the reader who gets its deepest lesson has to commune with this creative power of it, and re-create it in thought as it brings forth the pivotal occurrences of Time. To use the expression already often employed, the World-Spirit must be witnessed at last as the inner generating power of all History.

Accordingly, local or national History, if it be worthy of the record, must bear the impress of Universal History; and this impress is finally what the historian is to make manifest in his work. The American Ten Years' War cannot leave out of sight its originating principle, to which the appeal has often been made in the course of the foregoing narrative.

Here it is well to note another thought which is sure to rise: History, even Universal History, is not all, or the All; it is but one form of man-



ifestation along with others, such as Science, Art, Poetry. These, then, are likewise to be co-ordinated with History into one complete process of the All, which process is in its turn creative of these special forms of manifestation. Ultimately up to this highest process History is to be carried.

4. The process is then what connects the lowest and highest, connects the little round of events with the creative act of the Universe. To be sure the reader must see this act, must indeed recreate it for himself in order to know it. Such is the true meaning of the Period when rightly ordered; it gives the supreme process in the particular events, it reveals in the seeming incidents of Time the creative mind of the Almighty.

The Period of the Ten Years' War has, accordingly, a significance which rises beyond History, if we pluck its topmost fruit. It carries us up to the Creator creating not only it but everything else. The Period rounding itself out with its subordinate stages, which are also Periods, leads us to see not merely the movement of History but of the Universe. Indeed unless I can see History as a part of the Great Whole, I cannot see it as the whole of itself.

5. The American Ten Years' War has accordingly, its distinct, predicable object: the elimination of the dualism introduced into the Union at its birth. The expression, *the dualism in the Union*, discloses in words the contra-

diction which has become conscious and active in the Folk-Soul, and which gives it no peace until eliminated. Undoubtedly this dualism had existed for many years, and was known to exist; but its opposing sides never broke forth into violence, organized and persistent, till that first invasion of Kansas, in the spring of 1855 (see the first chapter of this book). The war then begun ends with the scene at Appomattox, the dualism being overcome, with the Nation one and homogeneous in the matter of slavery, and with the Union Free-State producing henceforth forever.

Such is the historic Period now rounded out and lying before us, in which much stress has been put upon that higher presiding Spirit of all History as it works in the soul of the People, and thereby realizes itself in the occurrences of Time. But this task could not be rightly fulfilled without the co-operation of the mediating Spirit embodied in the Man of the Period, its true Hero, whose transcendent gift was the ability to bring together these two elemental principles of History, the World-Spirit and the Folk-Soul, and to make them function harmoniously toward the one supreme result. But to give his work as it is in itself and to show his place adequately, we must take a new point of view and enter upon the task of a new science, passing out of Historiography into its counterpart, Biography.

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